1: Radin
796

NP12 Winnebago NP12

[For detailed information on the various ceremonies associated with the clan war-bundle feasts, see category 116, pp. 427-434, 436, 442-550.]

The bear hunt. Bears were hunted by individuals or by the tribe. 224
Before a man started on a bear hunt he went through the following 796
ceremony, known as *wanaⁿtce're,* literally "concentration of the 782
mind." He either built a special lodge or used his own for the ceremony. A kettle containing food was placed on the fireplace; this was intended for the particular bear the man wished to kill. The food generally consisted of corn or dried fruit: tobacco and red feathers also were offered, the former in small bark vessels. All these offerings were made not only as sacrifices to the bear but in order to make the feast as tempting as possible. When everything was in readiness, the host rubbed two sticks having rough surfaces against each other, called *nai'ⁿcaraz* or *naiⁿwaidjo'k'ere.* The host never ate. He continued his singing and rubbing until he attracted the attention of the bear, as indicated by the appearance of a little streak of flame passing from the fire toward the gifts he brought for him.

The same ceremony was performed before starting on a deer or a raccoon hunt. In addition to this ceremony, individuals always used the special hunting medicines that they obtained during their fasts.
This was frequently chewed and then rubbed into the arrow (nowadays into the gun).[8] [789]

There is a time of the year called *hiruci'c,* when bear break hickory 224
or oak branches for the nuts or the acorns. It seems they are then
very easy to approach. If a man killed a bear he would always [825]
refer to it in terms of respect.

The tribal bear hunt always took place in summer. As enemies [721
were generally encountered on the way a winter or war feast was
always given before the party started. This had nothing to do, 527]
however, with the hunt proper. Following is a fairly close translation of an account of a Winnebago bear hunt and buffalo hunt secured by the author:

> *Description of a bear hunt.*—When the Winnebago went on the bear hunt they 224
> always traveled in large numbers. They would always be able to find bears in the 825
> groves of red timber-oak; and it would be very easy to kill them. Nevertheless the old people considered it a very dangerous affair, especially if the hunters came upon breeding bear. If anyone killed a breeding bear he would cause very much trouble. The male bear would get very angry and chase the man who had done the killing, and if it ever happened that he was out of ammunition, the man surely would be killed. The bear would jump upon him and tear him to pieces. It is said that when bears kill a human being they always eat him. Another way of getting at the bears was to clear away the ground for them. It is very easy to kill them then. This generally takes place at the time of the year when the acorns fall to the ground. The bears gather in the cleared spaces and lie down there. They lie in the timber under the trees. They look like black objects in the distance. It is customary to shoot at them from some distance, but care is always taken not to shoot all of them, nor to shoot when the wind was with them, for then they would scent the hunters

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[8] Numerous descriptions of the wanaⁿtce're are given in the Hare Trickster cycle.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

616 that, as mentioned before, were a new clan introduced now among the Winnebago its position would depend exclusively upon the nature of the animal associated with it. As similar reasons dictate clan 614 groupings among some of the Central Algonquian tribes, a few words 825 concerning this type of association will not be amiss. The groupings of the fauna into a distinct number of categories is extremely common in North America. Among the Winnebago, a number of other Siouan, and Central Algonquian tribes, there was a fivefold classification; earth animals, sky animals, empyrean animals, aquatic animals, and subaquatic animals. Among the Winnebago the thunderbird belongs to the empyrean; the eagle, hawk, and pigeon, to the sky; the bear and wolf, to the earth; the fish, to the water; and the water-spirit, below the water. This religio-mythological conception has unquestionably received a certain amount of sympathetic elaboration at the hands of shamans, and particularly at the hands of the ●[796] leaders of such ceremonies as the Winter Feast, the Clan Feast, and the Clan Wake, as well as at the hands of those who had in their keeping the clan origin myths.

The characteristics of the thunderbird, eagle, bear, and water-spirit as clan animals, and as animals connected with a division of fauna, are also related to the general conception of these animals per se. The eagle and hawk are birds of prey; the thunderbird is generally a deity granting long life, and associated with peace, although his connection with war is also common. Similarly, the bear is supposed to have a "soldier" nature, and the water-spirit is intimately associated with rites pertaining to crossing streams, calming the sea, and ownership of water property. This correlation unquestionably indicates an influence of the religio-mythological conception of the animal upon the social group with which it is associated. How far this can go is abundantly attested by the names and behavior of the *waŋgeregi* and *manegi* divisions.

On the other hand, we may legitimately ask what influence the two divisions had in molding the attributes of these animals, or upon the behavior of the groups with which their name was associated. The functions of a warrior may have determined, as they certainly have accentuated, the "warrior" characteristics of the eagle and hawk, nor is there any easily intelligible reason why the thunderbird should be associated with peace. From our knowledge [174] of the social organization of other Siouan tribes, the political functions of the clan seem to be the characteristic feature of the organization, and this being the case, the possibility of associations of warlike and peaceful attributes with animals may as much be ascribed to the influence of the social unit as vice versa. With regard to such functions as the exogamy of the two divisions or that of the clans, or of the reciprocal burial relationship of the *waŋgeregi* and

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gifts from one spirit, the thunderbird, and a secondarily associated night-spirit (*hąhe*). The Winter Feast might thus be interpreted as a society of those who have obtained blessings from the thunderbird. The bundle remains in the possession of a certain family, however, and cannot pass out of the clan. The war bundle may therefore be said to be primarily the personal possession of a family which has become associated with all the members of the clan to such an extent that it is almost regarded as a clan possession. 778 [776 796]

In the possession of the two crooks by the Bear clan we have an example of specific clan property. The crooks are in the nature of emblems and are used on the warpath to indicate the extreme line of advance. They are thus of tribal significance. When not in use they are kept in the lodge of the Bear clan.

IMMATERIAL POSSESSIONS OF THE CLAN

Although there are no specific material possessions, each clan has certain "immaterial" possessions. They all have the added connotation of sacredness. For the Bird clans, it is the possession of fire; for the Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated before that these "possessions" may have been primarily connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which, of course, no explanations can be given now. 614 424

THE CLAN MARKS OF IDENTIFICATION

As if more fully to set off the social unit of the clan, there have come to be associated with it definite marks of identification, such as symbols, property marks, facial decorations, and songs. 614

The symbols of only two clans were obtained, although a number of other clans seem to have possessed them. These were the war club (*namątce*) of the Thunderbird clan and the peculiarly whittled stick (*namaxinixini*) of the Bear clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan died a miniature war club was buried with him. Whether the *namaxinixini* was buried with a member of a Bear clan we do not know.

The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in the center of clan squash fields, cornfields, etc.

fact of Winnebago culture, namely, that there are, strictly speaking, 614
no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. 575
There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in
many respects, are absolutely identical with the religious societies, [796]
and which furnish, it seems to us, an example of just those two kinds
of influence that we wished to point out, one radiating from the clan
as an organization, the other from the entire clan unit.

In the Winter Feasts the unit of organization is the clan. Gen- 614
erally all the clans were represented in the person of the owner of 796
each specific clan war bundle. The order of invitation was traditionally fixed, but it seems that in a number of cases the "friend" clan always had the position of honor. The war-bundle owner was not, however, supposed to represent the clan at all, but the spirits to whom offerings were being made. In every case, although the participants were supposed to represent a fairly large number of
animals, the main blessings that were contained in the war bundle [782
were from the thunderbird and night-spirit and the main offerings 776]
were indeed made to them. There seem thus to have been two separate ceremonies involved, one to the thunderbird and the other to the night-spirits.

The question arising with regard to the clan basis of these ceremonial organizations is whether we are to imagine that the ceremonial unit of organization was displaced by the clan unit, or whether we are to suppose that the ceremony is of comparatively recent origin, let us say at least long after the clan organization had been perfected, and that a number of things combined to determine the acceptance of the clan as a unit of organization, as opposed to the traditional ceremonial one. To the foregoing we must also add the fact that the Winter Feast seems to be related to similar ceremonies
of the Central Algonquian, whose influence on the Winnebago must [171]
first be determined. If, then, we are not in a position at present to suggest the course of development, there can be no doubt that the content of the ceremony is strictly comparable to that of the religious societies, and that there are hints that the ceremonial unit of organization had begun to assert itself. If this could be definitely established, it would indicate that the clan basis of organization is historically primary.

The clan unit of organization is found in no other Winnebago ceremony, although the specific clan feasts show marked influences radiating from the clan unit. The clan feast is a typical ceremonial complex, both in type of organization and in content. The difference between it and a society like that of the night-spirit lies in the fact that although the five principal participants must have specific blessings (bundles), they must at the same time belong to the clan. To what extent a member of one clan who has obtained a bundle

614 from some other clan spirit can take part in the specific clan feast
796 of the latter it is difficult to determine, but in the buffalo feast, assuming that this is unquestionably the real Buffalo clan feast, any person who has obtained a bundle from the buffalo can participate, although the leader must always belong to the Buffalo clan. This example may be taken as an indication of the historical origin of these feasts, namely, that they are really religious societies in which the influence of the clan has restricted the number of individuals who are ordinarily supposed to occupy the five places of honor. That this restrictive influence of the clan was caused by the identity of the clan animal with the guardian spirit there can be little doubt.

An old Winne-
bago told the author that long ago a young man wanted to marry a 614
girl belonging to his phratry and refused to listen to the entreaties 615
of his father and mother. Finally the father, in desperation, went 582
over to the lodge of a man belonging to one of the clans into which 778
the young man could marry and asked for one of the sacred possessions. It was, of course, refused, and when the man was asked what other requests he wished to make, he asked that the host's daughter be allowed to marry his son. This was, of course, granted, and thus the boy was compelled to marry into the proper phratry.

One Winnebago interpreted the custom in an entirely different 614
way Exactly how much importance is to be attached to this 372
explanation it is hard to say. According to this informant, the 689
insult lay not in going to the fireplace or taking a firebrand, but in
asking for it. The insult apparently consists in not taking it for
granted that anyone entering the lodge was permitted to do what [576]
he wished. In other words, his asking was a breach of etiquette.

The typical method of burial in the Thunderbird clan was scaffold burial. It has long since been discontinued.

The burial customs seem to have been the same for all the clans. 614
It may, however, be that in former times there were slight differ- 764
ences. For instance, in the first version of the Thunderbird clan
origin myth the statement is made that the branch of a tree was [184]
placed at the grave and a small stick, painted red, attached to it.
The author has no recollection of ever hearing the same statement
made in connection with any other of the clans.

There are four songs associated with the Thunderbird clan. 614
These are supposed to have been sung by the clan ancestors when [333]
they came to this earth, and are now always sung when a member
of the clan dies, and on a few other occasions.

According to one informant, members of the Elk, Warrior, Deer,
and Buffalo clans acted as servants to the Thunderbird clan on [554]
various occasions. The same informant also claimed that the
Warrior clansmen took specific orders from the Thunderbird clansmen when on the warpath.

According to another informant, Thunderbird marks at death are
a half circle on the forehead, made with charcoal. The proper [765]
marking is, however, that shown in plate 46.

Two dog names used in the Thunderbird clan are obtained—*piⁿzakirutcga; ka-iwakitcaⁿga.*

The only feast specifically connected with the Thunderbird clan
was the so-called chief feast, of which a description will be found on [79[illegible]]
page 318. One of the divisions of the war-bundle feast is often con-
sidered as sacred to the thunderbird, but this is always the deity [776]
thunderbird, not the ancestor of the clan.

614 was. And then all of them went toward the chief's lodge. They
539 walked as chiefs, all four of them. The four of them went there.
776 The chief's lodge was an oval lodge, and there they entered.

The Snake clansman was the one appointed to get the food. He went after the food. It was an Eagle-people feast. Two fish the Snake clansman brought, and with these the Eagle chief gave a feast. The Deer clan acted as attendants. Thus they ate the fish. And when they were finished with the eating, on either side, they left the head and the tail of the fish. This they left of their meal. "And if we have a dog we will call him *Leaves-fish-on-both-ends*," they said. Then they sat down. As they were sitting some one peeped in. It was the dog. Only his nose he stuck in. Then they said, "Whose nose does it look like?" So the chief spoke. "If we ever have a dog and if we wish to keep it permanently, *Whose-nose-does-it-look-like*, we will call it.

Then all of a sudden their bodies began to be different and their feathers began to look as if they were worn off. They were about to enter the chief's lodge. Then the chief passed the fire to the [783] Deer clan and when they were through the lodge was purified with the incense of smoking cedar leaves. Then again into the very long lodge they entered. This was at Red Banks. Then the upper people taught the lower people the things to make them good. Thus Earthmaker ordained everything, and as he ordered, so it was. That is the way they were. Holy they were. And all (of my clan?) lived as chiefs. This is all that I was taught.

CLAN SONGS

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533

First song

The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.
The blue flame they caused to start.

Second song

The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.
The fire they started.

EAGLE AND PIGEON CLANS

614 No information was obtained about either of these clans. The Pigeon clan has been extinct for some time and only a few survivors of the Eagle clan are left. Neither of these clans seems ever [778 to have been of great importance. They had war bundles and an 796] Eagle feast is mentioned.

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614 764 the council lodge. According to another informant, the Bear clan is the Deer's friend, and therefore they bury one another.

Burial, as was the case for all members of the lower phratry, was in the ground. Opinions varied as to what clan was supposed to bury a Bear man, some people claiming that it would have to belong to the upper phratry, others that it was incumbent upon the Wolf clan. It seems that the latter custom is the one followed at the present time and one which is considered old, to judge from the account of an actual funeral (cf. p. 148). The body was always buried with a miniature Bear clan war bundle. According to one informant, a bow and arrows were occasionally placed in the hands of the corpse, in addition to some tobacco. According to another [765 302] informant, the facial marks were charcoal across the forehead and red marks under the lips in direct imitation of the bear.

The facial decoration for the corpse consisted of two parallel marks across the forehead, the upper one red and the lower one black, and the painting of the entire chin red (pl. 46). The red paint on the [761] chin was interpreted as a smile, for the Bear clansmen were supposed to greet death with a smile, as they were returning to their clan ancestors. The statement was also made that Bear clansmen should not mourn the death of any of their comrades.

614 [796 264] There is a specific Bear clan feast at which no one is permitted to laugh or talk, nor is anyone allowed to make any noise while drinking soup. The feasters must eat with their left hand.

One of the most interesting of the ceremonies associated with the Bear clan is the so-called bear or soldier dance (*manu^{n}pe waci*). It was described to the author as follows:

> 614 796 755 When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village the people go to the chief and say "Sickness has come upon us, O chief! See that your soldiers arise!" And the chief goes to the lodge of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks as follows: "My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease." Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well.

It is quite clear that this "healing" function of the clan is intimately associated with the powers supposed to be bestowed upon individuals by Bear spirits. In fact, we are really dealing with a society possessing the power of healing disease in which membership, however, is restricted to members of the Bear clan.

THE WOLF CLAN

INTRODUCTION

614 173 Three versions of the origin myth of this clan were obtained. The second is the most interesting, for it gives the popular account of descent from the clan animal-ancestor, although it claims that he, in turn, was created by Earthmaker. One other important characteristic is the statement that the original clan ancestor married a human being and that from them the present members of the clan trace their descent. A similar type of descent is mentioned in a number of myths that can best be interpreted as village origin myths. The ownership of war bundles has also at times been linked up with descent from some spirit.

614 Very little is known at the present time about the functions of the Wolf clan. It is quite clear, however, that the clan once possessed powers of considerable importance. From the fact that the Wolf people are still occasionally called "minor soldiers" and that they are so closely linked with the Bear clansmen it is likely that their functions were similar in nature to those of the Bear people. They probably assisted the latter.

[823] Water was sacred to the Wolf clan as it also was to the Water-spirit clan. A person was not allowed to tell a Wolf clansman that he looked like a wolf nor allowed to sit on a log in a Wolf clan lodge.
[682] If a man kills a Wolf clansman accidentally and then sits on the log in a Wolf lodge, he has to be freed.

According to one informant, the Wolf clan at one time possessed four sticks, which they would use and with which they kept time while the drum was beaten.

[582] According to one informant, the Wolf clansmen were the only people who were allowed to intermarry.

The Wolf clansmen give a feast when a Bear child is born, to show respect for their friend. They give the child a name of their own clan.

●[796] The Wolf feast is held in the spring of the year, when the ice melts
from the creeks and everything begins to grow. At the feast the
[262 clan origin myth is told and the members of the other clans are
252] allowed to hear it. The food used is boiled rice.

ORIGIN MYTHS

FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 In the beginning the Wolf clan people came from the water.
539 Therefore their bodies are of water—i. e., their sacred possession is
776 water. There were four male wolves and four female wolves, and
[823] as they came up from the sea and swam toward the shore, one after
the other, they caused waves to go before them. Therefore one of

the old man went to a certain place he would find them. He went 787
and found it was so.

TALES CONCERNING MIDJISTEGA

Recently the Potawatomi were going on the warpath and a num- 648
ber of other tribes were going along with them. As they were 789
making their preparations they spent the evenings exhibiting the 796
various powers they possessed and which they had obtained during 726
their fasts.

One day Robert Lincoln's father heard that a Winnebago was 791
going to come and give a grizzly bear dance. Old Lincoln and a few other Potawatomi decided to go over and watch him. When they arrived at the lodge they were told that the name of the Winnebago was *Midjistega*. They were also told that this *Midjistega* was going to make some gunpowder (in a magical manner). When they heard this, the Potawatomi said that if he could make his teeth protrude from his mouth he might be able to make gunpowder, but that otherwise he could not.

In the middle of the lodge where this performance was to be held there was a wooden dish filled with charcoal near which *Midjistega* was sitting. He had beautiful hair and he had marks made by white clay in the corners of his eyes and mouth. When the singers in the lodge began to sing for him he ran around the lodge on all fours, four times. Then he took up the dish of charcoal and shook it. While doing this he made a noise like a grizzly bear. Then his teeth began to protrude. When he had gone around the lodge four times the charcoal turned into gunpowder. Then he took a handful of it and threw it into the fire and it exploded. The members of the different tribes present took some of it and put it in their war-bundles. It is only a short time ago that a Winnebago war-bundle that was supposed to have some of this gunpowder was stolen. It belonged to a man named Buchanan.

Old man Lincoln had never seen any Winnebago before this, but he could understand their language and he interpreted all that *Midjistega* said. The Potawatomi around him asked whether he had learned the language from some of his Winnebago relatives but he said he had not.

After showing that he could make gunpowder in this way, *Midjistega* made some plug tobacco. He cut the bark of some walnut trees into the shape of plug chewing tobacco and put it in a white deerskin on top of which was placed a piece of real plug tobacco. Then *Midjistega* said, "Now since I have made gunpowder I will also make some plug tobacco." Then he took the bundle and danced around the lodge with it and by the time he had danced around the lodge the third time the odor of tobacco became very

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789 strong. After he had danced around for the fourth time he opened
796 up his package and there was the tobacco. Then he spoke to the
726 people, "You people of different tribes, the one that is dancing
791 with me will obtain the first war-honor on the warpath that you are planning now, for I am giving him that honor and that power."

After this he told them that he would make them some paint, as they seemed to be short of it then. He took a wooden dish and filled it full of ashes and covered it up with a white deerskin. Then he danced around the lodge. As he was dancing around for the third time, old Lincoln thought he noticed yellow-colored paint. The fourth time he danced around, the paint turned into a red color. When, finally, *Midjistega* took the cover off, there was red paint of a very fine quality. Then the members of the different tribes distributed it among one another.

After this he made some axes. He molded some clay into the shape of axes and put them into a deerskin. On top of this bundle he put a real metal ax. Then taking this bundle he started to dance around the lodge. As he went around the lodge the third time, old Lincoln thought he noticed something shining. After he had gone around the fourth time he took the cover off and there were some real axes. They were all new and bright.

Then he decided to make some hoes, and then some awls. All of these he made of clay. Then he made some needles of deer hair. Then, noticing some boys playing with some basswood bark, he asked them to give him some, and out of it he made ribbons of four different colors, blue, white, red, and black.

Then he said, "As I have made almost everything, I will now try and make some whisky. If I fail there will be no harm done anyhow." Old Lincoln told his people what *Midjistega* was saying. Then they placed a new pail full of water before him. He took a flute and began to dance around the lodge. After he had made the first circuit of the lodge he held the flute near the pail, almost sticking it into the water. The second time he approached the pail he stuck the flute into the water just a little bit. The third time he came near it he stuck the flute into the water and stirred it around. By that time Old Lincoln could smell the odor of whisky pretty strongly. Then *Midjistega* went around the lodge for the fourth time and finally stirred the water with his flute for a long time, and taking a drink from the pail said, "It is whisky." Then he passed it around and everyone present took a drink. Old Lincoln, however, did not touch it. Then his father told him to drink it, as it was holy and had been made by a spirit. Then Old Lincoln drank some, and, sure enough, it was whisky, although it was colorless.

726 After that, all the people went on a warpath. However, the per-
555 son to whom *Midjistega* had promised the first war honor only obtained

arrange to have your victim die immediately, or, if you wish, to 754
have him suffer for a long time, by becoming paralyzed.

This same medicine is used in a similar way in times of scarcity of food. The people offer a shaman tobacco and he would do the following: He would take his medicine bundle and walk till he came to the footprints of a bear. Then he would follow the tracks of the bear till he came to his lair. Here he would open his medicine bag, dip the striped feather in the medicine, and sing for some time. When he has finished he makes certain sounds and stabs the bear's footprints. Wherever the bear happened to be at that time, he would not be able to walk, and the people would soon overtake him. For that reason this medicine is valued very highly.

This medicine is also used when one desires something belonging to another. All that is necessary to do in such a case is to use the songs accompanying the medicine. Then all the things one has coveted would immediately be brought. For this reason they thought a good deal of this medicine.

If ever anyone uses it in gambling, he will win. [525]

If again he casts his thoughts upon women, then the power of this medicine would go in their direction, and he will lose while gambling. All the women will, however, like him. He can marry whomsoever he wishes. The same thing will occur when a woman uses this medicine. If she casts her thoughts upon men, she will become foolishly enamored of them. For that reason the old people used to forbid women to use it.

This medicine bundle is also used on the warpath. If a man uses 778
it upon himself and rushes upon the enemy, all those who are in 726
front of him will suddenly find themselves unable to move. A 789
person who goes on a warpath, after he has carefully applied the
medicine to himself, is invulnerable. It is impossible to kill him, for
no bullets can penetrate his body.

This medicine was likewise used in hunting for bear, and deer 778
could easily be killed with it. Even those who are not accustomed 224
to hunting could kill game easily if they used it.

Many of the medicines mentioned above were obtained from the 756
man who was blessed with the stench-earth medicine. Everyone
believed that the cures effected by him with this medicine were real.
They believed that this medicine could cure them, and, indeed, it
did cure them. It was this man, too, who originated the stench-earth
medicine feast. It is a very sacred feast, considered more 756
sacred than any other feast among the Winnebago. When the 796
feast is given, an entire deer is boiled and cut into pieces much
larger than any one person could eat. Nevertheless the host orders
those whom he has invited to leave nothing upon the plate. Should [264]
any guest leave anything upon his plate, the host would give him a

756 small piece of a root and tell him to chew and eat it. This the guest
796 would have to do, and from that time on he would never know when
[264] he had had enough to eat. He would never get satiated. Whenever
the man who had been blessed gave the feast personally, no one was ever known to leave anything upon his plate. While eating the guests kept time. They never shook their plates, for if anyone did so the others would immediately give him whatever remained on their plates. They would assume that anyone who shook his plate was the possessor of the stench-earth himself and that he intended to eat up these extra portions with the aid of this medicine. If, however, the shaking was done unintentionally and he failed to eat up the extra portions placed on his plate, then he would make a noise like a raven, and those who wished to help him consume this food would also cry like the raven, approach him, and flap their arms as the birds do their wings. Then all would eat.

When the man who obtained these blessings died, he left all these medicines that he had been the first one to use to another person. With the medicines he of course left all the songs. All that he used to do when he doctored a sick person he bequeathed to his successor. The last man who had these medicines was not a holy man but he knew all their uses and for that reason he was considered a powerful and holy man. To-day only the poison medicines are remembered; the good medicines are all gone.

This is the end.

How an Indian Shaman Cures His Patients[1]

756 "I came from above and I am holy. This is my second life on
775 earth. Many years before my present existence, I lived on this
539 earth. At that time everyone seemed to be on the warpath. I
also was a warrior, a brave man. Once when I was on the warpath I was killed. It seemed to me, however, as if I had merely stumbled. I rose and went right ahead until I reached my home. At home I found my wife and children, but they would not look at me. Then I spoke to my wife but she seemed to be quite unaware of my presence. 'What can be the matter,' I thought to myself, 'that they pay no attention to me and that they do not even answer when I speak to them.' All at once it occurred to me that I might, in reality, be dead. So I immediately started out for the place where I had presumably been killed and surely enough, there I saw my body. Then I knew positively that I had been killed. I tried to return to the place where I had lived as a human being but for four years I was unsuccessful.

[825] "At one time I became transformed into a fish. However, the life of the fish is much worse than ours. They are very frequently

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[1] The shaman is represented as in the lodge of the patient and as speaking to him and his relatives.

867 787 self. Blessings are not obtained except by making the proper offerings to the spirits and by putting yourself, time and again, in the proper mental condition . . . If you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will amount to nothing in the estimation of your fellowmen, and they will show you little respect . . . My son, as you travel along life's path, you will find many narrow passages (i. e., crises), and you can never tell when you will come to them. Try to anticipate them, so that you will be endowed with sufficient strength (by obtaining powers from the spirits) to pass safely through these narrow passages.

771 Among the Winnebago religion is definitely connected with the preservation of life values. It is not a phenomenon distinct from mundane life, but one of the most important means of maintaining social ideals. What these are can be gleaned from practically every prayer; they are success, happiness, and long life. The vast majority of investigators are often surprised at the intense religious life which, among the North American Indians, exists side by side with an intense realism and with a clear understanding and appreciation of the materialistic basis of life. The explanation, to judge from the Winnebago data, is simple enough. The Indian does not interpret life in terms of religion, but religion in terms of life. In other words, he exalts the world around him and the multifarious desires and necessities of the day, so that they appear to him bathed in a religious thrill. At least that is what the devoutly religious man does and most of the religious data presented in this volume emanates from him. Still we are convinced that for the vast majority of Winnebago, in other words, for the intermittently religious, there are many moments in life and many actions which are seen through this pleasurable religious thrill.

224 796 Every Winnebago will admit that to perform the *wanaⁿtce're* ceremony (p. 111) and, on the following day, to agree to start at a certain hour, would not necessarily result in killing a bear. The bear tracks are to be followed and a person is to persevere until the bear is captured, in spite of the fact that the *wanaⁿtce're* ceremony is supposed to insure the capture of the animal.

726 787 Or again let us take the following example. No man can hope to go on a warpath and kill an enemy unless he is authorized to do so by a definite blessing received during fasting. If we were to accept this statement as such, we might be led to believe that the Winnebago were willing to risk their young men on so dangerous an undertaking as a warpath, on the sole strength of a fasting experience. It does not stand to reason that they would, and a careful inquiry into the subject has shown that they never did. What actually happened was that the prospective war leader translated into religious terms the exact conditions and requirements of every particular war party. That is why the chief of the tribe and the shamans insisted that only such a person who had been blessed with the most specific kind of knowledge, such as the number of men he must take

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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ceremonies as the war-bundle feasts, buffalo dance, sore-eye dance, etc. We will enumerate but a few of them here. 776

The principal deities of the Winnebago are: Earthmaker, Sun, Moon, Earth, Morning Star, Disease-giver, Thunderbird, Water-spirit, etc.

Earthmaker. He is known to the Winnebago under three names: *Maⁿ'una*, earthmaker; *wajaⁿguⁿzera*, he-who-makes-something; and *waxopi'ni xedera*, the great spirit. Of these the last is the most archaic, which might imply that originally Earthmaker was merely the great spirit. In the hands of the shamans, to whom the development and elaboration of the great Winnebago ceremonies like the medicine dance and the war-bundle feasts were due, he became almost a true monotheistic deity, benevolent but unapproachable. [756] In the older myths, like the trickster and hero cycles (cf. for instance, the *wak'djuŋk'aga* and hare cycle), he is hardly mentioned except as a clear afterthought. In another cycle, like that of the twins, where he is definitely mentioned, he is treated like a spirit similar to the other spirits, although superior to them, but in no way resembling the benevolent deity that we find in the origin myth of the medicine dance (p. 350). How and when this development took place, and whether the introduction of Christianity had anything to do with it, it is difficult to say. All indications seem to be overwhelmingly against the latter assumption, although it can not be entirely dismissed. As we have indicated in a previous paper,[1] there appears to have been a well-developed pre-Columbian belief in a good and bad spirit among the woodland Indians. The Winnebago shared in this belief and Earthmaker developed his present position through the displacement of the chief bad spirit called *Herecgunina*.

The older conception of Earthmaker seems to crop out also in the occasional attempts of individuals to obtain blessings from him. (Cf. the tale of Wegi'ceka, p. 291.) [787]

Little can be learned as to the actual appearance of Earthmaker In the origin myth of the medicine dance he is described as though he were clearly anthropomorphic. The symbol associated with him in the war-bundle feasts, the cross, is unquestionably supposed to represent the four cardinal points. [796 ● 823]

Earthmaker is not supposed to bestow any definite blessings on man. He is, in a general way, expected to give them life. There is but little real worship of him because he is far removed from man and is supposed to come into relation with them only through his intermediaries, the spirits. According to the cosmological myths he like to have you put some food in your mouths."[27] "My niece, it is 787 good. You have indeed made yourself 'pitiable.' You have 159 thirsted yourself to death and I, too, pity you. If any spirit has 776 blessed you, he has done so with good reason. I, too, once thirsted myself to death and the spirits blessed me with life. With this life, my niece, I also bless you. I will gladly partake of your feast." Thus spoke Wolf. Then Elk said, "My niece, I, too, was told to fast; and in my fast the spirits blessed me with the power of having complete control over all my actions. This dream (i. e., the blessings I obtained) I now give to you.[28] With these blessings you will be able to live as you desire. I will now gladly partake of your food."

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[1] The Religion of the North American Indians, Journ. Am. Folklore, vol. 27, no. 106.

When they were through eating, she also ate, and then they all went home. After a while her father said to her, "My daughter, I am going to ask you a question. It is said that those who have been blessed might tell their dreams if they were asked." "All right," said the daughter, "I will tell you. Eight days I fasted and then the spirits blessed me. They told me that if at the end of four days I should place offerings south of the place known as the Big Eddy and situated down the stream the powers with which I had been blessed would be shown to me. The one who blessed me was the chief of the Wakᶜsiⁿtcûⁿ, the spirits who live in the earth. He said that Earthmaker had created him and given him great power; that he had placed him in charge of 'life.' In four days he told me, 'I will appear to you. The day on which I appear to you will be a perfect day. Whatever you wish to make for yourself, you may do. You will never be in want of anything, for you can make implements for yourself out of my body. With these I bless you, for you

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[27] The feast referred to here is the feast called Hanᵗaginantc Wadu-itranenaⁿ or faster's feast. It is given whenever a man or woman who has been blessed is about to break his fast. At this feast it is customary, according to some informants, for the faster to narrate his blessing. However, these feasts have now been discontinued for so long a time that it is extremely difficult to obtain any accurate information. [527 796]

[28] The transference of certain blessings is very common, but, to my knowledge, it is rarely done in this manner. As a rule if a person was unable to obtain blessings, he sought to offset this handicap in life by purchasing supernatural powers from some of his more successful fellow-men. However, these powers seem to be connected almost exclusively with medicines. That blessings such as those bestowed upon individuals during their fast, such as long life, invincibility, hunting powers, etc., were transferred, does not seem probable, although it is, of course, possible. The writer was told of a number of cases where this seemed to have been the case, but on closer study it was conclusively shown that no real transference had taken place, but that in those instances where a person had said, "I transfer this and that dream to you," the transference had no validity unless the individual to whom the dream had been bequeathed actually fasted and obtained the same dream. An individual would in such a case always be careful to select as his "dream-heir" one who would in all likelihood obtain the same dream. It is only in this sense that one might actually speak of a transference. In those instances where a man is blessed with supernatural powers that are to extend to all his posterity this is what is really meant, namely, an infinite repetition of the same blessing, one that has, however, become so certain within definite families that it might be considered automatic. [425] [424]

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So they spoke to him. "Whenever
787 you give this ceremony, no matter what blessing you ask, we will
776 bestow it upon you, when you offer tobacco. A flute you must also
[534 keep holy. You must make it yourself, so that it remains sacred."
[778] They also told him to make a war bundle. The Buffalo chief told
825] him this. So he made one out of a buffalo head and a buffalo tail.
These he made sacred so that people might offer tobacco to them. This was done long ago and yet they still do it.

Then they told him that four differently colored buffaloes would bless him—a white one, a black one, a red one, and a yellow one.

After a while he was blessed the second time. This time the spirits came after him from above and took him to the home of a spirit buffalo. This is the one that blessed him.

"Earthmaker has placed me here," said the spirit, "and he has
[726 given me control of many things. Grandson, I bless you. I am in
782] control of war power, and if you ever go on the warpath don't forget me. If you pour a pipeful of tobacco for me before you go into battle, the enemy will only be able to shoot your shadow." Thus he spoke to him. "I will take your body, and in that way it will only be your shadow that the enemy will try to shoot with all their strength. You will be without a body, and how then can they hit you, being without a body!" This is what the spirit told him. So, therefore, whenever he went on the warpath it was impossible to kill him. For the spirit had said, "I am also in control of life and I will give you your life back, that you may control it. The spirits
[796 have given you a tobacco-pouring feast and whenever you give it,
remember that I wish to smoke also. When you pour tobacco for
782] me I will grant you whatever you ask. If you ask for war, or if you ask for life, I will accept your tobacco. As long as this earth lasts I will smoke your tobacco and accept the kettle of food that you place on the fire for me."

Thus he spoke to him. The man, however, still kept on fasting, and finally the spirits came for him again. There in the middle of the earth lived a buffalo-ghost. There he went and the buffalo-ghost said to him: "I also bless you. You were given counsel and I who am a buffalo also counsel you. I am in control of many things. Earthmaker placed me here to live and he put me in control of many things. Human, look at me," he said. The man looked at him. Then he saw that his body was covered with flattened bullets. "Thus you will be," said the ghost to him. "It will be impossible to kill you, and you will attain to old age, and when you get tired of living you may do as you please. I give you the privilege of controlling yourself." Then he gave him a song and he caused him to see a war prize, a wampum. After a while he spoke to him as follows:

"I also will always smoke at your feast, and if a kettle is ever put on the fire for me, I will be thankful to you. Whatever the people

PART III

CHAPTER XII

CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

INTRODUCTION

The Winnebago had four types of ceremonies: clan ceremonies, 796
in which only members of the clan could participate; religious societies, for which only people who had obtained blessings from the same spirits were eligible; the Medicine Dance, in which only initiated individuals could take part; and a semipermanent organization like the *hok'ixe're* dance, in which only individuals who were returning from a war party and had counted coup could participate. In this grouping we do not include ordinary feasts, such as the feasts connected with different medicines and the pleasure dances.

Every clan seems to have had a clan war-bundle feast (often called 796
winter feast) and also a specific clan feast. We have reason to suspect 614
that the war-bundle feasts were originally private feasts given by 778
the owner of a war bundle. Then as the war bundles became of great importance to the clan to which the owners belonged, they were after a while regarded as clan possessions. But even at the present time, while many would contend that the war bundle belonged to the clan as such and could not be alienated, everyone realizes that it is the property, whether held in trust or not, of a certain individual, and that he can, up to a certain point, do what he wishes with it. For a detailed analysis of a winter or war-bundle feast see page 427.

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The clan feasts were specific feasts at which offerings were made to 614
the clan animal. A good description of one is that of the Snake
clan on page 325. [782]

Perhaps the most characteristic ceremonies of the Winnebago were those of secret societies in which membership was dependent upon blessings from one and the same spirit. There were at least four of 575
these—the society of those who have been blessed by the night spirits, 796
the society of those who have been blessed by the buffaloes, the society [776]
of those who have been blessed by ghosts, and the society of those who have been blessed by grizzly bears.

In order to prevent any misunderstanding with regard to the buffalo societies, it might be well to point out that there were three of them—

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796 the Buffalo clan feast, the society of those who have been blessed by the buffaloes, and the society of those who wear buffalo headdresses; the last apparently of Sioux origin.

The medicine dance has been described by the author in some detail,[1] and a general description will be found on page 350.

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727 Of the semipermanent societies, the *hok'ixe're* dance is given after every successful war party by those four individuals who have counted coup. It has only a temporary existence, for it ceases to be an organization as soon as each individual performance is over. Its main purpose seems to be the desire to transfer to the victor, from the skulls or the scalps of the slain enemies obtained on that particular warpath, the valor and prowess for which the slain person was noted.

527 In addition to the above ceremonies there were a number of pleasure and miscellaneous dances that are described on page 379.

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278 There were apparently a number of very important feasts connected with certain medicines, the principal one of which was the Black Earth Medicine feast; but unfortunately no account of this was obtained, owing to lack of time.

CEREMONIES ASSOCIATED WITH THE CLANS

THE CLAN FEASTS

THE THUNDERBIRD CLAN OR CHIEF FEAST

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614 *Introduction.*—The chief feast, or, as it may more properly be called, the feast of the bird clans, is generally given once a year, sometimes in late spring. It was also given on certain other occasions for specific purposes. At the present time it is given by the members of the Thunderbird clan and the prevalence of the appellation "chief feast" would seem to indicate that it was at all times the feast of the Thunderbird clan. We ought then to expect to find clan feasts of the other members of the *waŋgeregi* division, namely, of the Warrior, Eagle, and Pigeon clans. No such feasts are given to-day, however, and the members of these latter three clans always speak of the chief or bird feast as their specific clan feast. As such it is also regarded by the members of the *ma*^{n}*negi* division.

In the total absence of historical data it is quite useless to speculate about the significance of one feast sufficing for four clans, where in strict analogy to the feasts of the other clans we would expect to find one for each clan; yet the idea that naturally presents itself is that we are in reality dealing with one clan that has become split up
[114] into four subclans. Such a view has been expressed by J. O. Dorsey,[2] but the data upon which he based his opinion seem to us highly

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[1] The Ritual and Significance of the Winnebago Medicine Dance, Journal of American Folklore, vol. XXIV, No. XCII, 1911.

[2] Siouan Sociology, 15th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 241.

unsatisfactory. Apparently his statement is based upon the occurrence 796 of four mythical ancestors. The similarity of the Winnebago 614 social organization with that of the Dhegiha and Tciwere branches of [114] the Siouan family, in which subclans seem to be found, appears to have influenced Dorsey considerably in making this assumption.

It is true that in their account of origins the Warrior clan speak of themselves as having sprung from the second of the birds mentioned in the origin myth of the Thunderbird clan and this statement permits us to infer that the other two clans bear a similar relationship to those four ancestral birds who, according to legend, alit on a tree near Red Banks. But this is, of course, merely a mythical account, and the data imbedded in the clan myths must be used with the greatest caution in so far as they can be expected to throw any light on early conditions of social organization.

All that we can say now is that the chief feast will have to be considered as belonging to all the four bird clans. But this is not to be interpreted to mean that an amalgamation of four historically distinct feasts has taken place, nor that, on the other hand, the four clans were originally subdivisions of one unit.

The Chief feast.—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:[4] 796 The chief of the tribe is at the head of all the different bands and 622 groups of people that exist among the Winnebago. As chief he has full charge of them. All the others are, so to say, his attendants and servants. When his people wish anything they go to him and ask him to obtain a blessing for them. Thus all the members of the tribe, the children as well as the mature men, go to him, and to help them the chief gives the feast known as the chief feast. He sacrifices to Earthmaker, and all who are present offer up some little gift in thankfulness, as this is a thing of supreme sacredness. All those who are present—the children, the women, the middle-aged, and the old men—in fact, whosoever attends the feast, see to it that they eat some of the food distributed.

As this feast is given in honor of their chief, all the members of the tribe, but most particularly the members of the Bird clan, prepare [614] large offerings, so that there should be abundant food to eat. They bring all kinds of food—different kinds of meat, different kinds [782] of vegetables, all manner of berries—in short, all sorts of edibles. These are to be offered to the spirits, and by means of these offerings they expect that their life will be filled with all that is good. It is to obtain these blessings that the feast is given.

When his people get sick, when it appears that an epidemic is [755] likely, then the chief also gives the chief feast. It is for the purpose

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[4] Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain a full and detailed account of this feast. As in type, however, all the clan feasts are identical, this deficiency can be made up in part by comparing it with those feasts like the snake, bear, and buffalo that have been obtained in considerable detail.

796 622 of stopping the spread of the sickness, whatever it may be, and for repairing the ravages caused thereby. For this the feasters pray "May our people recover and thrive," they say. "May they never get sick." [782] Then they make all those present offer up tobacco. As each one offers tobacco Earthmaker is aware of it and accepts. Thereby do we live and become strengthened. If Earthmaker smokes the tobacco offered him he will give life in return. The people offer tobacco that they may obtain life.

[614] 622 They call the Thunderbird people chiefs, and it is from among their ranks that they select the chief of the tribe.[1]

It is the duty of the chief to ward off all evils. This is one of their missions in life. They preach only what is good.

"Chief," they used to say to him, "try to do something for your people. Try to accomplish something difficult for them. Try to accomplish something difficult for your village. If you accomplish such a thing for the benefit of your people they will look up to you and respect you. Have pity on your people and love them. If a man is very poor, help him. Give him and his family food. Whatever they ask, give it to them. If your people get into trouble with one another, take your pipe and, walking in front, die for them, if necessary. From actions like these they will know that you are really their chief. There, in front of them, with your pipe in your hands, you will be lying on the ground, dead.

"If your people are about to sacrifice a dog and he gets loose and runs into your tent, you must let them have something in place of this dog for their feast. Do not let them kill the dog in your lodge. This would be sacrilegious. Grant the dog his life. Similarly, if an individual who has murdered a person escapes and takes refuge in your lodge, give him his life. Use all the wealth you have and give it to him, that he may employ it to make peace with the relatives of the person he has killed. Help these people who are in need. Do not think of your wealth. When that is gone you will get some more. Do your duty. Do not pass anyone unnoticed, not even a child. If people have come and asked you for something, do not let them go away without attempting to do something for them. You are a chief. Do some good for your people. In that way you will show that you are a chief. 'Our chief,' they will all call you. The children that see you will call you chief. Whoever talks to you will call you chief. If you are good to your people, they will show their respect by being bashful in your presence. If you are not good to them they will not think you a chief and they will not be bashful in your presence. So, at all times, do as a chief ought to do. Be good-natured to all the people and in this way you will show that

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[1] What follows is a typical speech delivered by a member of the Thunderbird clan.

you are indeed a chief. And then even the people of other tribes 622
will say that such and such people have a good chief."

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The Indians always cele- 796
brated in summer. It was a season of rejoicing because the chief 622
fed the tribe. It somewhat symbolized a mother bird feeding her
young ones. The Thunderbird
clan is in charge of the tribe, [614]
and when the chief feeds the
tribe all rejoice and the standard
is raised.

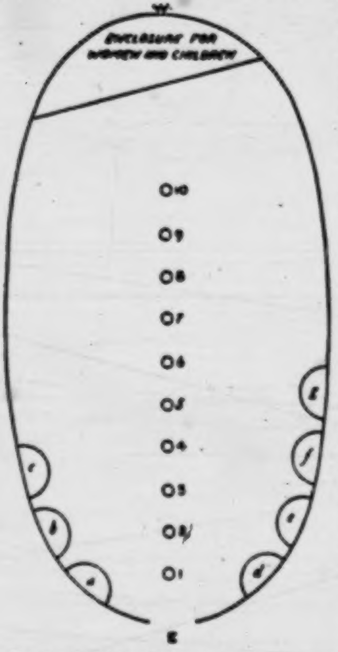

FIG. 36. Plan of Bear clan war-bundle feast as given by John Rave. *a*, Host. *b*, Relatives of host. *c*, Warrior clan. *d*, Wolf clan. *e*, Thunderbird clan. *f*, Eagle clan. *g*, Buffalo clan. 1, Buckskin for earthmaker. 2, Buckskin for turtle. 3, Buckskin for thunderbird. 4, Buckskin for sun. 5, Buckskin for moon. 6, Buckskin for morning star. 7, Buckskin for earth. 8, Buckskin for fire. 9, Buckskin for heroka. 10, Buckskin for night spirits.

THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (FIRST VERSION)

Two versions of the Bear clan 614
feast (fig. 36) were obtained, for- 796
tunately both from a man and a 782
woman. The feast was generally
given during the month called
Hundjwi'ra (i. e., bear month),
corresponding roughly to our [805]
January.

Informant, member of the clan (female): The host tells his sister's son, or, if he should not happen to have any, a member of the Wolf clan, to build a long lodge. This attendant then fills kettles either with blueberries or raspberries or any other fruit that the bears are fond of, and places them on the fireplace. Sometimes dried corn is also brought.

The participants enter the lodge at dusk. The host precedes the invited guests. In entering they proceed in a direction contrary to the hands of the clock. The host always sits at the southeast end of the lodge and the guests occupy seats next to him, proceeding from the southeast to the northwest.

When all are seated the host rises and addresses his guests as follows:

"Members of my clan who are seated here, I greet you all. To
those from whom I have sprung I make these offerings of tobacco [537]
and this headdress (i. e., red feathers). I was told by my ancestors
that if I did this I would obtain for myself, for my relatives, and for

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●796 the members of my clan, sufficient blessings to guide us all safely
782 through life, and to make our lives pleasant. I will not tell the
[537] origin myth (of our clan) because it is sacred and it must not be told
without the proper ceremony, for the telling would then injure an individual. Besides there are many clans beside our own represented here and it is not proper that these should hear it."

614 He then speaks of the four ancestral bear-beings who were created
796 in the beginning.

When the feast is ready one of the Wolf clansmen gives four soldier whoops. Then the fire is allowed to die out, and as soon as the lodge is in complete darkness the feasters begin to eat. Before
[533] eating, the host sings four songs. These are the clan songs and are
only sung at these feasts or on the occasion of the death of a clansman.

Those who partake of food at the feast may be members of any clan except the Bear clan. The members of the latter clan do not eat at their own feast.

[264 Everyone attending must bring his own wooden spoon and must
415] use it with his left hand. There are four wooden dishes in which
the food is served. These are arranged in the lodge in a certain manner.

The guests sit around these dishes and eat with their own spoons.

[805] The feast is given in the first bear month. Some one generally watches the moon and as soon as the new moon is visible the feast begins. The feathers and the tobacco to be offered are placed in four little troughs made of basswood bark, each about 1 foot long. These are then placed on the south side of the fireplace.

When the meal is over the attendant or Wolf clansman generally says a few words of thanks to the host and then the host in turn thanks those who have participated and tells them that the feast is now over. All now pass out, the one next to the host leaving first and the rest in succession, the host himself remaining until the end.

[778 When the feast is over the tobacco and the feathers are taken
782] away from the lodge and carried in a southern direction to a place
(under a tree) that has been especially cleared and sanctified. Any person may thereafter go there, offer tobacco, and ask for long life.

614 Informant, member of the clan (male): "Well, soldiers, your
796 moon is about to appear. It is good. So come forth, for it is at
537 this time that the spirits asked to be remembered. Let us send, on
782 this occasion, to the place at which we all originated, whatever we
possess of wealth. This is what the spirits asked of old. Let us therefore put the kettle on and prepare the feast.

"This is the way in which we prepare the feast. I offer only one small kettle. Here is my offering. I pray that what I offer may suffice and bring enough blessings from the spirits to include all the

Indians who exist and especially those who are present at this feast. 614
For that reason do we deliver these speeches. We were told that 776
at the place where we originated our ancestors now remain, regard- 537
ing it as their home. There they expectantly await us. So our 782
ancestors spoke. Our offering at this feast is intended for that purpose. Let us pour tobacco for them. Let us place at the edge of the fire the four bark receptacles. Now listen to me for I am going to pour tobacco.

(He now addresses the four original clan beings.)

"On the north side, Earthmaker created you. Four brothers he placed there (you being one of them). And when one of them started for the earth those remaining asked to be remembered at this feast. These are the objects they asked to be given as offerings—tobacco, feathers, and boiled food. Earthmaker gave you that kind of life-giving material. We, in turn, ask you for this, so that when you take our offerings you will grant us what we ask. Here they are, the offerings with which you wished to be remembered. The spirits promised to give them. We are praying now not only for our own, but for all the clans. Our life will be strengthened, it was said. These words that I am telling you now, they used. We must act very cautiously in this, they said.

"If you place a portion of boiled food away as an offering, you must use it only in that particular place. Do not do otherwise. This way only is the correct way to do it."

Then he spoke to the attendant and said, "Are you ready? Go and get all these people who are to eat. They must bring their spoons with them."

Then the attendant brought the people into the lodge and put some food in their plates.

"Place the people around the plate and let them be seated," the host said. "Now turn the fire down and get ready. Hold your spoons in your left hand, for with that only are you allowed to eat. None of you must talk nor laugh. You must do what I tell you. Before the meal begins let us sing. Let us do it now." (They then sing the four clan songs.) 614

"Thus they have told us. That way it was at the place where we 776
began life.

"Now the meal is over. We have had a minor council. We have acted correctly. It is good that you who are present have come at our request. You have eaten very well, and we thank you for it. This is what those from whom we originated told us to do. This council-feast they pleaded for. 'We should act very cautiously, they said. That you have done. It is good that you have eaten for our benefit. Now is about time for us to finish. I greet you all."

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THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (SECOND VERSION)

614 796 [805] [825] Informant, member of Bear clan: As soon as the first bear month is visible they have their feast. They do not use meat but products of the earth. The feast is held at night, never in the daytime. The people always save up food some time before giving the feast. The favorite dishes of the bear are sugar and blueberries. When they can not obtain these they use other vegetables. Indeed, any product of the earth is all right.

[203] When they prepare to give the feast they get the food ready and have some tobacco on hand. On the first day of the first bear month they put on the fire some kettles with dried corn mixed with fruit and others containing green corn. The latter is boiled. They also have ground sugar. When these are ready the feast attendant goes around the village to invite the people. When all have entered the lodge and taken their proper seats, then the host rises and addresses them:

614 796 537 [782] "All my relatives who are seated here, I greet you. It is not through blessings of our own that we can always make offerings of tobacco. My grandfather was blessed by a spirit called Black Fur, a spirit who is in command of all the other spirits. This spirit told us that we could perform the ceremony in this way. It is for that reason we have made an effort to heat water for him.[6] The first request we make is that if we ever go on the warpath, we may conquer. Our grandfather was also blessed with life by the bear spirit[7] and he told him that he would grant him and his posterity whatever they asked. We shall therefore send to this spirit a pipeful of tobacco, two kettles full of food, and some tree sap.[8] So much will we send him, accompanied by an offering of tobacco.

"As soon as the attendant gets everything ready the feasting will begin."

Then the attendant puts food in every plate, and when he has finished the host speaks again.

[264] "Relatives, it is said that when the plates are supplied to you filled with food, then you should begin to eat. Do not, however, use your right hands in eating."

The host tells the feasters to use their left hands in eating, and they obey him. Before starting to eat all the fires are put out and the people eat in the dark.

614 796 In the spring of the year this feast is given again. Twice a year it is given.

[841] The feast[9] was always given with some choice dried corn that had been put away for this event. Once when it was time to give the feast in the first bear month, the two daughters of the man who was

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[6] Boil soup and prepare food in general.

[7] Black Fur is apparently a ceremonial expression for bear.

[8] Ceremonial name for maple sugar.

[9] What follows is an account of why this particular feast was discontinued.

to give it had their menses and were fasting. When the feast was 614
about to be held there was no food and their mother gave the girls 796
some of the sacred food and the unclean girls boiled it and ate it. 841

The following spring when the girls were out helping their mother tan some hide a bear approached them and tried to kill the girls. The old woman fought the bear off as best she could, but he paid no attention to her and tried to get at the girls. Finally he killed the girls. Then the old woman attacked the bear and finally threw him down and killed him, using her tanning stick as a weapon.

Now this bear was not an ordinary bear such as live on this earth,
but his body was covered with blue clay. He had come out of a [776
spring of water shortly before he came to this place. The girls had 688]
eaten sacred food when they were unclean, and that is why this bear
came and killed them.

Since then that particular band has stopped giving this bear feast.

THE SNAKE CLAN FEAST

When a person wishes to give a snake feast, four chickens must be 796
obtained. The nephew of the feast giver is then told to prepare these 614
chickens and make the general preparations.

The feast is given in the fall, just as the snakes are supposed to
go into their winter quarters and close their doors. The winter is [825]
their night, and then they go to sleep.

Shortly before the feast begins the host takes out a bundle containing four snake skins—a yellow-snake skin, a rattlesnake skin, a blow-snake skin, and a bull-snake skin. In honor of these he gives his feast and makes his offerings.

As the fall of the year is to the snakes the same as our evening, the
Winnebago give this feast in their honor then, in much the same way
as we have our supper before retiring for the night. The snake skins
are representatives of the first four snakes Earthmaker made and [773]
which he pierced through the earth in the direction of the east. The
snake skins are kept to represent the four original snake-beings and
to keep evil away from homes. That is why offerings are made to
them. Four men only are invited to this feast (as main participants),
and they must each eat a chicken.

The host himself opens the door for the snakes. In front of him,
next to the fireplace, he makes four holes in the ground, thus opening
the door for them. There he likewise places tobacco for them.
First he pours tobacco in the fire, for the fire is the mediator be- [782]
tween the people and the spirit. The fire tells the spirit the wishes
of the people and is, in general, in charge of the members of the tribe.
For that reason they always pour tobacco upon it. 796

Now the host rises and speaks. "Grandfather (fire), you who 614
stand in the center of the lodge, I offer you tobacco, for you are the 537
interpreter (between the spirits and human beings), and I know that 372

796 614 537 [372] you will deliver the requests I address to our grandfather-who-crawls (the snake), just as I have said them. I offer you tobacco.

[782] "To you likewise, grandfathers, you whom Earthmaker created first and placed within the earth; you whom Earthmaker placed in control of abundance of life and whose war clubs were made heavy, so that nothing could miss them: to you we offer these things. Whatever you can give us, we ask of you in return. Here are our offerings of food, tobacco, and eagle feathers. We place them here at your door. We ask that you bless us with victory in war. We know that the weapons you carry make you invulnerable, and we wish likewise to be invulnerable. You never fail to obtain what you desire with your clubs, and we ask that the same power be bestowed upon us. As the years pass may the blessing we obtain increase in power. When you look out upon the world life emanates from your eyes. May this life be given to our posterity. As we strut about in the short number of days allotted to us may you keep out of our path, so that we may not be frightened. Yet should we cross any of your paths may we be strengthened thereby. It is said that you are the grass, and that is why we ask you to bless us. Bless us because you are in possession of the life which we desire. For these reasons do we offer you tobacco, feathers, and food."

796 614 [782] Then the host poured tobacco into the four holes that he had made in the ground and placed feathers there. Then he took a little food from each of the kettles and poured it into the four holes. After that he greased the heads of the snake skins which were lying before him with kettle grease and poured tobacco on the heads of the snakes. He asked all his relatives to offer tobacco likewise and he put tobacco into the holes again and poured some upon the heads of the snakes.

When those invited have arrived, someone who is a good speaker sits near the entrance, while another good speaker sits near the farthest end. After all have entered, the leader of the four participants makes the circuit of the fireplace four times. He then sits down, and the host greets each one in turn, as follows:

796 614 537 "I greet you all. It is good. How could I say aught but that it is good? I am a poor worthless fellow, yet you have remembered me. It is good. You did not look upon my unworthiness and think within your hearts he is a worthless fellow, but you thought of the spirits, and therefore you came to sit with me so that I might see your face. It is good. I have obtained four chickens, and the attendant is now cooking them. I suppose he has cooked them by this time, and we will soon be able to eat them.

"I am attempting to cook water for the beings first created, so that we might be blessed with victory in war, and with life. That is what we are asking and what we would like to obtain from them before they (the spirits) retire for the night. It is our desire to be blessed year in, year out.

"Your plates will be filled soon, so let me greet you again, you 796
(humans) who are taking the place of the spirits. All you who are 614
present I greet." 537

The attendant now takes the kettles from the fire and takes the plate of the first of those sitting in the row. Then he takes the sharp stick that he holds in his hand, sticks it through one of the four chickens, and puts it in the plate of the first man. He passes the plate around the kettle four times, going from right to left, and finally he places it before the feaster. The feaster then says, "I thank you all," and the attendant passes on to the next one, and so in succession until he comes to the last person. Then the one first invited rises and says, "All those present, the host and the three other guests, do I greet." Then the speaker addresses the one sitting next to him, who greets him in return. In the same way he greets the third and the fourth one. Then he speaks as follows:

"It is good. Who would not be thankful for this? The host and his relatives present here are praying for life and victory, to the four greatest spirits Earthmaker ever made, to those spirits whom he pierced through the earth so that it might hold together. All the snakes whom we see on the earth are ruled by these four. From them have they asked blessings. The first human beings on earth saw these spirits face to face and, we are told, they used them for protection. These we see before us as the host has laid them out. We are told that blessings can be obtained by the use of these snakes.

"I am indeed not a fit person to be invited to such a gathering as this, but the host has kindly overlooked my faults. My grandfather fasted and thirsted himself to death and he was blessed and his spirit taken to a spirit-home. That is what happened to my grandfather, for he told me this himself. The place where he was [787] blessed was at Red Banks at a place where a creek flows into the sea (Green Bay). At the fork of this creek there was a hill lying east and west. It is there that the yellow snake-chief lives. To the home of this snake-chief my grandfather was taken. This snake was at this place gathering tobacco for all the spirits. There my grandfather was even blessed with their bodies. For this reason I always pour tobacco for them. And I have been given to understand that the spirits do not overlook the least fault (in the performance of the feast). They are always in our midst just as even the grass and the dust represent snakes. They know everything, they say. It is not safe to cross their path. As, however, the host is now making an offering to them, should we cross their path now it would even strengthen us. It is good. These clubs are heavy and they will not fail to strike everything within their reach. The host has asked for that power so that he might have victory (in war). They, the spirits, also have life to dispose of and that we ask of them also, giving them these offerings of tobacco, [782] feathers, and food.

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796 feathers, and food. They will bless us I am certain, for I am told
614 that they even know our thoughts and wishes (before we express
537 them), and are willing to grant them if we pour tobacco while making
[782] them. However, to-day we have done more. We have openly
made a great offering to them. How could any spirit fail to see such an offering? For that reason (I know) they will surely bless us. And the blessings asked for the posterity will surely be granted. I feel that when I go home and talk to my children afterwards, they will be strengthened by the fact that I have taken part in the feast. All who are present, I greet. You, the host, I also greet. I greet you all."

Then the second one invited rises and speaks. He thanks the host for the privilege of having been invited and encourages him and assures every one that they will surely be blessed, telling them why they should be blessed.

Then the third one rises and says approximately the same as his predecessor. He also tells how his grandfather was blessed by the snakes, etc.

Then the fourth one speaks, telling what the snakes do and that he himself was a member of the Snake clan and was consequently descended from the snakes. Inasmuch as he had partaken of the feast, all who were present would surely be blessed by the snakes. He assured them that what they asked would surely be granted. Then he greeted them and concluded.

After that, all the four participants greet each other in turn again and when this is over they sit down and begin the feast. Each person must eat a chicken apiece. They must not leave anything on the plate, for it is a sacred feast. After they have eaten the chicken they are given soup to drink.

When the feast is over the host throws cedar branches into the fire and the plates and the spoons are held over the smoke in order to purify them. The host then rises and says:

"You, the first invited, and you, the second invited, etc., I greet you all. It is good that you have come and occupied seats at my request and I am grateful to you for it. Even were that all the blessing I was to receive, it would (be enough). But you have assured me that I would receive the blessings I longed for. You truly encouraged me. You told me of your grandfathers' blessings, so that I feel positive that I am blessed, for your grandfathers' blessings were surely great and I am sure everything could be obtained with them. Surely your grandfathers' blessings were equal to those of the spirits. It is good that you have indeed partaken of my feast. This must be what the older people said: 'Your life is (naturally) weak and you can only be strengthened by the counsel and advice of brave men.' Truly you have counciled with me and given me enough to live on. I thank you for the speeches you have delivered, for it is life to me. It is good. I greet you all."

CHAPTER XIII

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES BASED ON BLESSINGS FROM SPIRITS

SOCIETY OF THOSE WHO HAVE RECEIVED BLESSINGS FROM THE NIGHT SPIRITS

Informant, member of Thunderbird clan: Once a man went hunting 796
so that he might be able to get the game with which to give a feast. 539
All of those who were to participate in the feast went along with him. 575
After they had killed some deer they built a lodge. Then all the
other feast-givers came into the lodge, bringing something toward the
feast, as well as the tobacco which they were to offer. Some brought
other things, even dogs, as their contribution to the feast. The dogs [252]
would be killed, singed, then boiled, and prepared in the same way as 575
the deer. The meat would then be mixed with dry corn. The 796
attendants, who were generally the nephews of the feast-givers, would 604
look after the boiling of the food. Every time they gave a feast they 539
selected these nephews to do the cooking and the general work
connected with this ceremony.

The nephew who acts as attendant accompanies a feast-giver on
the warpath, where likewise he has to endure a great deal. Should [726]
his uncle be killed, it is his duty to be killed likewise and not to return
home.

He acted in this way because of his love for his uncle. The attendants do all the work whenever their uncles give a feast. They also arrange for the place where the feast is to be held; make the four invitation sticks; blacken them with charcoal and decorate them at the ends with fine and fluffy white eagle feathers. Then they prepare a bundle of tobacco containing about a pipeful. After these preparations have been made one of the nephews goes around the village
and presents the invitation sticks to every individual who had been [203]
blessed by the Night Spirits. These are called the night-blessed children. The night-blessed children thanked the messengers and assured them that they now felt they were obtaining life. Then those to whom the invitation stick had been presented go around asking their relatives to accompany them to the feast. There the guest and his relatives would meet at the appointed time. All those who received invitation sticks do the same.

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539 The host at the same time puts himself in readiness to receive the guests.

[538] The two drums to be used are placed in the proper position with tobacco on top as an offering. The two gourds to be used are arranged in the same way, with offerings of tobacco on top. These four articles are placed in a row in front of the host, who pours tobacco upon them again and asks them for life.

[782] The host now rises and speaks as follows (first, however, offering tobacco to the fire, and telling the people of his own band how he had obtained his blessing, and from what source it had come):

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575 "Grandfathers, when you blessed my grandfather with life you promised that as often as we would boil food for you and offer you a pipeful of tobacco, you would smoke it. So it has been said. Boiled water from an animal whom you considered the same as our own body, and spirit food he extended to you, as well as a pipeful of tobacco. This we also are sending you. And what could we ask of you in return but war? That it may be directed toward us, we pray you. Grandfathers, you who are called Happy Nights, when you blessed our grandfather you blessed him with endless war. So it has been said. That is what we ask for, that as you blessed our grandfather, so you bless us. We ask for the same things. You, likewise, grandfather, you who are called The-one-with-rounded-wood, when you blessed my grandfather you blessed him with life. That is what he said, and you asked him in return to make offerings of tobacco. Here is the tobacco. This night we are going to ask life of you. We desire that you give us and all who will be here to-night, life. As many people as will be seated here, we ask life for all of them."

[782] Then all who are present rise and, holding tobacco in each hand, walk around the lodge, pouring tobacco on the drums and the gourds, and some of it into the fire. They pour tobacco into the fire for the Night Spirits. For the Beings-with-rounded-wood they offer tobacco by pouring it upon the drums. The offering is made both to the drums and to the gourds directly. The tobacco bundles tied to the invitation sticks are offered to the four cardinal points and the four specially invited guests smoke this tobacco, because they are supposed to represent the four cardinal points. Behind the respective invited guests are placed two women, next to the wall, so that they might lead in the dance. When the invited guests come to the feast these women remain outside until the starting songs have been begun.

[533] The host sings these songs first and when he has finished the first invited guest enters the lodge, ejaculating peculiar sounds (that are probably meant as greetings). Continuing these sounds, he walks around the lodge until he comes to the place from which he has started. There he stops and speaks. "You who obtain life, you

that council, relatives, all who are seated here, I greet you. It is 796
good that you have taken pity upon me. All those that I have 776
along with me, my relatives, you have caused them to think that 539
they were to obtain life: that a great life was to come to us through 575
you. And all this you have done when we were leading worthless lives. It is good. If such an invitation were to be extended to people when they are sick and weakly, it would heal them; it would overcome their illness, it is said. It is good. When I think that our sick people will get well by reason of this feast, I am thankful. Up to the present our children have all been sickly, but from now on we will have no cause to worry. I am thankful. The principal tree of the night-soldiers, standing in front of their doorway and which is in full bloom, has not a dead leaf upon it, not one that has dried. It is beautiful to look upon. They obtained it for us and caused it to come down to us, and we feel grateful. It will strengthen our families. This lodge that we have entered is like the first lodge (the night-soldiers' lodge), and just as we were strengthened by it, so will we surely be strengthened by entering this lodge to-day. In the night-soldiers' lodge fine white feathers are scattered all over the ground, ankle deep, it is said. As we are about to go over the past, we certainly will be strengthened thereby. The lodge of the night-soldiers was fair to behold from the inside, we are told. We will consider ourselves blest with life to-day, even although we are not children of the night-blessed ones, and even although we will not be able to conduct ourselves as it is meet. We will, however, do what we can in order to obtain life. You children of the night-blessed ones, who are seated around here, I greet you."

Then he sings the entrance songs and walks around the lodge. [533]
His singing is generally finished at about the time that he has made the complete circuit of the lodge. Then he starts around the lodge again uttering the peculiar sounds mentioned before, until he comes to the seat of the host. There he stops and makes a circle in the air (with his hand) and addresses him as follows:

"I greet you. A great day has come to me and all my relatives have tasted thereof in the hope that they might thereby be strengthened. I have also brought along with me a pipeful of tobacco to be given to you, that we may all be strengthened. So it is said. It is for that reason that I am acting thus and am greeting you."

With these words he concluded and walked to the place that had been assigned him in the lodge, opposite the host and, still standing, he said the following: "Children of the night-blessed spirits who are seated here around me, I greet you all. The councilor, I mean the host, has seen fit to give me and my relatives a seat. We will sit in it so that we may be strengthened thereby. We will now take our seats, but before that let me send forth my greetings to all."

796 Then the second invited guest enters. He utters the same sounds
776 as his predecessors and makes the circuit of the lodge. When he
539 reaches the place from which he started he stops and addresses the
575 host as follows:

"Councilor, you who obtain life, relatives who are seated here, I greet you all, and your seats do I greet likewise. You that are seated in the first place, I greet you, too. All you children of the night-blest spirits who are in this lodge, I greet you. It is good that you wish me to live; that I am here. I am not a child of a night-blest one, that this invitation should have been extended to me, but you probably knew the nature of my life and that is why, I suppose, you extended this honor to me. My relatives are even greater weaklings in the properties and goods of life than I am. That happens to be our manner of life. It is good. Henceforth we shall be stronger as we journey through life. Our men, women, and children shall all live in peace. As many of us as are living to-day, that many shall continue to live (on account of my participation in this ceremony). I am thankful.

"Of all the spirits that exist, these truly are in control of most life. So it is said of the Night Spirits. This is a great thing. These spirits have given us the occasion for a great counciling. Many of us are not able to take part in it, especially the one now speaking. The songs that have been used by our fathers we will not be able to sing, but whatever we say I know will be acceptable to you, children of the night-blest spirits. I send forth greetings to you all."

Then he sang an entrance song, and after he had made the circuit of the lodge, he sang another one. Then he went around the lodge again making his strange utterances, until he came in front of the host. Here he made a circle (with his hand) and stopped. Then he greeted the host as follows:

"A great day has come upon us, both upon me and upon all of my relatives. We all have tasted thereof so that we might live thereby. We have all brought you a pipeful of tobacco, just as we were told. It is said that we would thus strengthen one another, and that is why we have done it. I greet you all."

Then he went to his seat, the second one in the lodge, and sat down. Then all the members of his band sat down, each sending forth a greeting as they took their seats. When they were all seated the third man invited prepared to enter.

The third one invited now entered, uttering strange sounds, and made the circuit of the lodge, when he paused and addressed the host as follows:

"Councilors, life-obtainers, relatives who are seated in your respective seats, I greet you all. Here I have been blessed, although I am not worthy of it. My grandfather, and my father, too, once said to

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me, 'Some day when there is a dearth of people, some night-blest one 796 will take pity on you. Submit to it.' Thus he spoke to me and 776 what he referred to was this feast. These feasts are all sacred, but 539 this is the most sacred one. That is what he used to tell me. It is 575 not to be trifled with, even in respect to the rituals within the lodge. Never should one cross the lodge directly. If you trifle with this rule you will bring sorrow upon yourselves. The so-called night-soldiers are not to be trifled with. So he told me. The so-called night-soldiers, like soldiers on this earth, are stern. Truly they are stern, said my father. If we were to slight one of them we would [689] most assuredly be punished for it, and punishment by them means death. So he spoke to me. But, said he, 'if, on the other hand, any one attends to all that pertains to this ceremony it will be a means of obtaining life. It will be a good thing to do, and one would thereby obtain a good life. Therefore, I have always looked upon the Night dance with awe, for it is a very holy thing.' So spoke my father. For that reason, consequently, whenever my father gave a Night feast he would encourage us to pay careful attention to it, and that is why I have always tried to do so. Remember, however, that I am not a child of the night-blest ones, and that, therefore, I have very little to say. However, I will start a song, which will be a greeting to this lodge, and I will sing it as I am passing around the lodge. Children of the night-blest ones, who are seated here, I greet you."

Then he sang an entrance song, first at the west end of the lodge and then near the position occupied by the host. When he had finished the circuit of the lodge he went around again, making the accustomed peculiar utterances, until he came in front of the host. There he stopped and addressed the host as follows:

"I greet you. You have caused this day to come upon me and all my relatives. We have all tasted thereof and we have all felt ourselves in connection with life. We are thankful. We have thought of this blessing of life in connection with ourselves. I greet you."

Then he walks to the place assigned to him in the west end of the tent and sits down. The other members of his band do the same, one after the other, greeting the people in the lodge at the same time.

When they are all seated the fourth one comes in. He repeats the utterances of the former guests and then starts around the lodge until he reaches the entrance. There he stops and addresses the host:

"Councilors and life-obtainers, I greet your seats. I likewise greet you, host. You who are seated in the north and you who are seated in the west, your seats I greet. Children of the night-blessed spirits who are within this lodge, all of you I greet. It is good. As far as I understand this Night ceremony is considered a life-giving one. The so-called happy Night Spirits alone are in control of most of life. So I was told, and that is why this ceremony is called a life-giving

796 one. If I participated in this ceremony, I would be able to call it life,
776 I was told. But I did not pay any attention to it. They told me it
539 was good and that I would at the same time be making offerings to
575 Those-with-the-rounded-wood, and that thus I would be able to make
use of all the plants that these spirits control, so that I would never
be embarrassed when I wished to use them. I have caused people
[824] who were ill to become well by means of this ceremony. All of the
plants that these spirits control are good ones, and it is easy to obtain
life with them. In this ceremony we may also obtain life by dancing.
But we must dance earnestly. The leaders of this ceremony have
held council over everything, and yet they have selected us for a seat
of honor, so that we might greet them in this lodge and that we might
be able to use this song while greeting them. You children of the
night-blessed ones, I greet you all."

Then he sang an entrance song, and when he finished he repeated the utterances used in entering and gradually made the circuit of the lodge singing. When he was through singing, he again continued the utterances until he came to the place of the host, where he made the circle (with his hands) and stopped. Then he addressed the host as follows:

"I greet you. You wish me to live, and therefore caused a great day to come upon me and upon all my relatives. We have all received a taste of it, and we have all thought of ourselves in connection with life. We are also bringing you a pipeful of tobacco, so that we may strengthen one another. That is what we thought and that is why we are doing it. I greet you."

Then he walked around the lodge until he came to his seat. There he stopped and addressed his seat as follows:

"Seat that is reserved for me and for my relatives, we are about to sit in you; we will do it, and we will think that our lives have been helped thereby. I greet you." Thus he spoke and sat down. Then all the other members of his band sat down one by one.

When they were all seated the lodge was full. Then the host rose and spoke as follows:

"You who are seated in the first position, I greet you; you who are
seated in the north position, I greet you; you who are seated in the
west position, I greet you; and you who are seated at the end of the
539 road, I greet you. Children of the night-blessed ones who are here, I
796 greet you. My father and my grandfather spoke to me of this cere-
776 mony, and they told me it was good. They told me that the one
787 who first obtained it was named 'Little Red Turtle.' He fasted and
575 was blessed by those whom he called the Beings-with-round-wood.
By these was he blessed at the noon hour, and he was taught what
[821] to do. There they taught him all. At a place where the stars
touched land they caused it to become night, and there they blessed

him and taught him how to make four circles and also certain songs. 539
Since then this ceremony has been performed. He was really blessed, 796
and he was told exactly how everything should be performed. So it is 776
said. As he was very fond of the Night feast, he spoke in its behalf, 787
and told of all the medicines that were associated with it and of
the use to which they could be put. I myself know that these medicines 575
are good to live on. If anyone uses them he will receive benefits therefrom and his children will receive life. I know that they are good. I would not have you think that I am one of those blessed by the Night Spirits because I say this. But I know that all the medicines of which I have personal charge and to which I make offerings of tobacco, for whom I boiled food, always make the individual to whom I offer them the better for it, provided that I do everything correctly. I was told to do this, and that is why I do it. I am now going to sing some songs audibly, and all these songs will be songs about medicines. I know that we will cause you to fan your faces (from perspiration brought on by making you work too hard), but forgive us for it. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you, and to take the place of their sister whom they always place ahead of them so we also will have our sisters lead the dance for us."

Two women now rise and stand side by side in front of the men and 776
hold, one in each hand, the invitation sticks that had been returned. 575
These two women lead in the dance. The men who shake the gourds 539
stand with their backs to the women, facing the drummers. All sing together and all the dancers have partners at their sides. It is a very interesting dance. Then all get up and start around the lodge, making strange utterances. When they have made the complete circuit of the lodge they stop and sing. When they finish this song they start around the lodge again, repeating the utterances. They stop at the west end of the tent, where they sing again. They thus sing at both ends of the lodge. They use all the songs they intend to. When the last song is over the individual who has sung it makes four circles and then takes the drum, gourd, tobacco, etc., and places them in front of the guest who occupies the first seat of honor. Then all sit down. Then the east leader rises and speaks as follows:[10]

"Councilors and life-obtainers, relatives who are seated here, I send you all greetings; and to you who are on the north side, and you who are on the west side, and you who are at the end of the road, your seats I greet. Our host has passed over to me the means of our meditation, the instruments through which we ask life. This instrument for asking life is the foremost thing we possess, so the old people said. We are thankful for it. We know that Earthmaker

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[10] From now on we will use the terms East Leader, North Leader, West Leader, and South Leader to designate, respectively, the first, second, third, and fourth guests in the order of their invitation.

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575 did not put us in charge of anything, and that for that reason the
539 tobacco we received is our greatest and foremost thing. So the old people said. We were told that we should use it to ask for life. This must have been what they meant. This, the instrument with which to ask life, is, I feel sure, sufficient to attract them and they will surely take notice of it. We may also follow him who is taking the place of the spirits, and we will consider all those who are in the lodge blest. Those whom we call Nights have been offered tobacco, and the same has been offered to the four cardinal points, and to all the life-giving plants. To this many tobacco has been offered. It will strengthen us. This is what we call imitating the spirits, and that is why we are doing it. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you all. The song we will now start is a pipe-lighting song."

When he finished singing he greeted all those in the lodge and then he lit his pipe. Then he took a number of puffs. First he inhaled some smoke and blew it toward the east, then toward the
[782] north, then toward the west, then toward the south. Then he passed it around and all smoked, except the host, who is not permitted to do so. Then the east leader spoke again as follows:

"Night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you. The instrument with which to ask life I will now place here, and if any of you want to fill your pipes you may do so."

Then the leader of the north band rose and spoke as follows:

"Councilors and life-obtainers, you who sit in the direction where the day comes from, you who sit on the other side, in the west, and you who sit at the end of the road, your seats I all greet. We, too, have been anxious to obtain the instrument whereby we ask life, and therefore we fill a pipe for ourselves. I greet you."

Then the leader of the south band rose and said as follows:

"If the leader of the north band has finished his greeting, I also would very much like to have the instrument with which we ask life brought to me. We will immediately go and fill a pipe. I am speaking now because I wish to tell you what I intend to do. I greet you."

The leader of the north band did not pass the pipe that he had filled all around the lodge, but merely passed it to the members of his band. Only they smoked from it. In the same way the leaders of the other bands, with the exception of the host's band, passed the pipe only to members of their individual band. Only the host passed his pipe all around the lodge. When the smoking was over the leader of the east band rose and greeted everyone. Then he spoke as follows:

[787 "Our grandfathers used to carry on this ceremony, I have been
776] told. They told me that if at any time the giver of this ceremony

can not find enough people to invite he would take pity on me. 796
This is what I should say, my father told me. In the direction from 776
which the day comes, there where the Nights are, live the night-sol- 787
diers, who blessed my grandfather and who made him try his powers 575
in the middle of the ocean—there where it is deepest. They placed 539
a round object of wood before him, and the night-soldiers said that they would not take it away, and that every time my grandfather tried to seize it he would not miss. 'You have done well, human, you have won,' they said to him. For this reason it was considered an instrument of war, he told me. If you do your utmost in offering tobacco, it will be an instrument of war, he said.

And he also said the following: "All the plants with which I have been blessed are useful and a person can receive life through them if he takes good care of them. These plants can be very powerful and some of them can even be used in playing jokes, we are told. But we have never used any of them in such a manner, for if we did our plants would surely lose their strength. I have been told that should I frequently use any of my plants for the purpose of playing jokes and then for the purpose of curing a sick person, they would have no power at all. If, however, I never used them in jokes my medicine would always be powerful. Therefore I have never used them in that manner. Nor have I ever poisoned anyone with them. I never considered myself great or used a Night's trick-medicine or used fire, although I was told I could do so. This I never did. When I use one of the plants I like to have it do its work. I am saying this, although I am not a child of the night-blest ones. It is now about time to permit our sisters to get hold of the 'chief sticks' and to permit them to sit here and sing together with us."

The women are then permitted to take two sticks apiece and sing wherever they are sitting. As soon as the men sing the women join in.

"This is the way to do, I was told, and that is why I am doing it. Children of the night-blessed ones, who are seated here in this lodge, I send you all greeting."

When he is through with his starting song he stands up and speaks to them again, as follows:

"Night-blest ones who are within this lodge, I greet you. I was not invited to take this seat because I was a wise man. I do not for a moment imagine that, but it was done in order to help me obtain life. We will now rise and go forth and we will brush against your faces, but you must take pity on us. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you. We will not remain seated here but we will rise and go forth in order to obtain the round stick. That is why I am making this announcement to you. I greet you."

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They then rise and make four circuits of the lodge, first stopping at the first seat, then at the second, then at the third, and lastly at the fourth. When they get back to their starting place they sing dancing songs, first stopping at the west end of the lodge and then at the entrance. This they repeat. By this time all the songs they had intended using have been sung, so they make four circuits of the lodge and then, taking the drum, gourd, etc., place it in front of the north band. When the dancers are all seated the leader of the north band rises, and greeting everyone speaks as follows:

"I was not pitied because I was a child of the night-blest ones, my father told me. Yet if I performed my duties aright I would be able to make the proper speeches when called upon, I was told. That I have been pitied now is due to the fact that these people here wished to have me obtain life. Certainly my invitation to this ceremony has made me think of life, as my father used to tell me. I do not for a moment imagine that they invited me because I was a great man. Nevertheless my father told me to say that it was good; and that if I really meant all that I said, my life would certainly be strengthened thereby. My father knew how to perform this ceremony correctly, but I am not able to do so. Although I was told it was a good thing, nevertheless I was not able to pour tobacco. Those whom we call the Ones-with-the-rounded-wood are in charge of very much life and they are holy. This affair is not a thing to be trifled with, my father told me. Yet in spite of this we will sing some songs, even though we know that we will not be able to sing them as they have been sung heretofore. Perhaps, however, you will be kind enough to be satisfied with whatever we do. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you."

Then he sang the starting song, and when he was finished he rose again and, greeting all, spoke as follows:

"When Those-with-the-rounded-wood start to walk their sisters are placed in front of them. Our sisters we will now place in front of us, so that thereby they may be blest with life and hold the principal sticks and staffs. We will use the toys so that we may be strengthened thereby, we think, and that is why I greet you."

Then they permit the women to lead the procession. These women walk in front, side by side, and are followed by the ones carrying the gourds, who dance with their backs toward them. Then come the drummers and the feast-givers, and after these, all those who desire to join in. They walk around the lodge making strange utterances. Four times do they make the circuit of the lodge and then they come and stop at the east end, where they sing. When they are through here they start around the lodge again and stop at the west end and sing. Then they start again, making the same strange utterances as before, until they come to the east end of the

lodge, where they sing once more. When they have in this manner 796
sung all the songs that they wish to use the leader of the north 575
band makes the four circles as before and brings the tobacco, gourds, 539
etc., to the west band. Then they all take their seats. Now the leader of the west band rises and speaks as follows:

"Councilors, life-obtainers, relatives, to you all who are seated here, I send forth my greetings. You who occupy the first seat, you who occupy the north seat, and you who occupy the seat at the end of the road, I greet. I do not mean to say anything of consequence. I was taught this ceremony, but I do not know anything about it. However, I always honored it, for I was told that it was a good thing. Indeed, I know it, but I could never perform it well. I was told that if I performed it well I would obtain life thereby, just as others have done. Well, some of you are able to do it. It is a very great council feast. How, indeed, can the spirits ignore what you have done for them to-day? If they acknowledge it, we who are representing the directions will receive blessings through the host who is giving the feast. That is what I mean. When we hold our mediators (that is, the drums, tobacco, etc.) we will be strengthened thereby. So with this in our minds, let us take and hold them. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you."

Then he sang the starting song, and when he had finished he rose and spoke again.

"Councilors, I send you greetings, as well as to you who sit in the first seat, to you who sit in the north, and to you who sit at the end of the road. It is said that when the night-soldiers come they walk over the entire extent of the earth. When they blessed my grandfather they blessed him with life. So he used to say of himself. We will now plead for these powers in our songs. We will place our sisters in front and follow them. That is what I wanted to announce to you. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you."

Then they made the complete circuit of the lodge until they came to the place where they had been sitting. There they made a circle. Then they made another circuit of the lodge and stopped in front of the south position and made a circle. Here they made another circuit of the lodge and stopped at the east end and made a circle. Then they made the last circuit of the lodge and stopped in front of the north band and made a circle. By this time all the songs that they were to use had been sung. The leader now made four circuits and brought the gourds, drum, tobacco, etc., in front of the south band. All now took their seats and when they were seated the leader of the south band arose and spoke as follows:

796 "Councilors, life-obtainers, I greet you. You who sit in the
575 first seat, you who sit in the north, and you who sit in the west, I
539 greet. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated within
this lodge, I greet you all. It is good that to-night you have tried to imitate your grandfathers, that you have tried to take the place of the spirits. You have said enough with which to obtain life. But I am more unfortunate. I can never do what my ancestors did or say what they said, and for that reason I suppose my talk will be quite worthless. I was told that if at any time I should be pitied, not to talk foolishly about this ceremony. If I am a bad man I will act foolishly in this affair, I was told.

"My grandfather was blessed by those whom we call the night-soldiers, who blessed him with certain utterances. As many black-birds as there are, that many appeared to him as Night Spirits. Our utterances will be an imitation of those he received when he was blessed. We can only guess at these.

"We were told that when we hold the mediators we will be strengthened by them. Night-blessed spirits who are seated here, I greet you."

Then he began the starting songs, and when these were finished he rose and spoke again.

"Councilors, life-obtainers, I greet your seats. You who sit in the east, you who sit in the north, and you who sit in the west, I greet you all. Children of the night-blessed ones, I greet you. Those whom we call night-soldiers treated their sisters as holy and placed them in front. In imitation of these soldiers we will now put our sisters in front, so that we may be strengthened thereby. I wish to announce that we now place the women at the head of our procession. Let us all come together, so that we may be strengthened. That is our desire and that is what we are pleading for. I greet you."

When they are ready to begin the dancing songs all rise and form in line, having the women lead them. Then the men with the gourds, their backs turned to the women, follow, then the drummers. Then all those join who feel so inclined. When they have finished all the songs they intend to use they bring back the drum, gourd, etc., to the middle of the lodge and stop dancing. Then they return to their seats and then the leader rises and says:

"Councilors, relatives who are seated here, I greet you. You who are seated in the first seat, you who sit in the north, and you who sit in the west, night-blest ones who are within this lodge, I greet you all. Whenever a night-blessed child holds council, when he is invited to a feast and is given the position at the end of the road, the intention of the feast-giver is to enable him to obtain life. So they told me, and that is what they meant. Most assuredly have they caused me to think of life. When I hold the mediators in my

hand I am holding life, and when I pass them on to the others, to 796
my relatives and to my sisters, I am passing on life to all of them.
In this way were we made to think of life. I will not detain you 575
any longer. All that I wish to say is that I am thankful. Chil- 539
dren of the night-blessed ones, I greet you."

Then he sat down and the host rose and spoke as follows:

"You who sit in the east, you who sit in the north, you who sit in the west, and you who sit at the end of the road, I greet you all. It is good. This is what I wanted but have not been able to say. You, however, told it all in my place. It is good. Of all things this is the foremost, it is said. The instruments with which to ask life you have placed before me. That alone is enough to live on and that you have done for me. It is good. Your forefathers dreamed just as the spirits did, and how they obtained life, all of that you have told me to-night. It is good. You have said enough to obtain life. It is good. I say this because I am thankful. If you do anything, do it in the right way, I was told. I understand this ceremony, but nevertheless what I have done is the best I could do. I will now place the food before you. I am an old man, but I have always performed this affair just as I have performed it to-day, and, although I know that I have not done it in the right way, yet it was my turn to do it, and I did it. I am an old man, and for that reason I am not able to procure meat anywhere. My relatives helped me and that is why I have been able to do it. Here are four kettles of hot water. I will place them in the center of the lodge for you. The one in the east and the one in the north and the one in the west and the one at the end of the road; each one may have it. Children of the night-blessed ones, all who are seated here, to all do I send greeting."

Then the leader of the east band rose and said: "Councilors, I greet you. You who sit over there in the north, you who sit in the west, and you who sit at the end of the road, I greet you all. Children of the night-blessed ones who are in this lodge, I greet you. We are all to arise soon and that is why I announce this."

Then the leader of the north band rose and said: "We also will rise, as it is our turn. We greet you all."

Then the leader of the west band rose and said: "The time has come for us to rise. I and my relatives will now rise. We greet you all."

Then the leader of the south band rose and said: "Councilors, I greet you. I greet all who have been blessed by the Night Spirits, each one in turn. We are now going to rise."

Then the leader of the east band said again: "Councilors, I greet you. We will now greet the hot water and I will use a song."

796 Then the leader of the north band said: "I also will start a song.
575 I greet you."

539 Then the leader of the west band said: "I also will start a song. I greet you."

Then the leader of the south band said: "I also will start a song. I greet you."

Then the leader of the east band sang a song, and the other leaders sang their songs. Each band sang its own songs, not paying any attention to the songs of the others. Each band sang different songs. This they do in order to drown the voices of the others. Should one band overcome the other, it means that that particular band would be blessed with victory in war. What they were really saying is that their songs were more powerful than the others, and that their grandfathers' songs were the holiest. Then they all danced around the lodge, single file, and made their exit from the lodge. While they were dancing, the host sat still singing and beating his drum. They carry their kettles outside. Wherever they wish to eat, there they go and dance around the kettle of food first. Then they eat their meal. They dance in different bands.

796 575 [554] The ceremony finishes with this feast. It is customary, however, for the one who has been given the seat of honor, that is, the east seat, to give a feast immediately afterwards. Then the one who has been invited first would do the same thing, so that all four would in this manner give dances in rotation. For this reason it generally took five nights before the ceremony was over. During those five nights no one could sleep. It is from this fact that the word, "Sore-eye Dance," which is the general term used for this ceremony, originated. If a person does not sleep for five nights, his eyes generally get sore, and that is why they call this ceremony the "Sore-eye Dance."

796 789 575 Sometimes they perform night-spirit tricks. These would be of the following nature: A kettle is put on to boil and some individual fishes out a piece of meat bare-handed without getting burned. At other times they shoot a hole into a drum covering, using a wild-cat claw as a missile. Then they immediately mend it.

When a man is very bad they shoot him with an object and kill him. They used to be very much afraid of such people. Sometimes they take a handful of live coals and embers from the fire, put them into their mouth and then spit them out without getting burned. It is for this reason that they are called holy. Sometimes they take burnt portions of a tree that had been struck by lightning, put them in the fire, and then when they are red hot take them out again and put them in their mouths without extinguishing them. They then spit them out, and it would look like lightning. Or they would shoot one another with cold charcoal. This is all that I know.

Once a medicine-dance man and a night-blessed man became jeal- 756
ous and the medicine-dance man said that he would play tricks on the 575
night-blessed man. The night-blessed man said he was quite willing 578
to have a contest. So the two came and sat opposite each other and began their contest. Whatever the medicine-dance man did the night-blessed man did too, but always a little better. The medicine-dance man was defeated, so from that time on the medicine-dance men are afraid of the former. The medicine-dance men shot the night-blessed men with claws, but they could not kill them. Therefore they were afraid of them. The night-blessed men could [754]
kill the medicine-dance men at pleasure. The medicine-dance men were inferior. That is all.

SOCIETY OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN BLESSED BY THE HEROK'A

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The feast of those who have 776
been blessed by the Herok'a is given at any time of the year. Any- 575
one may be invited. The feast is held in a long lodge and is generally given by a number of members at the same time (or by all). Each person brings a deer and his bow and arrows. The bows and arrows are painted different colors, depending upon the color (paint) with which the individual has been blessed. The bows are all stuck in the ground between the first two fireplaces and the arrows in a row just behind them.

During the ceremony and feast the members all sing the songs with which they have been blessed. The ceremony is held before the feast and is conducted by one of the members of the society. He leads, holding a bow in one hand. The others follow, holding arrows in their hands. Only men are permitted to dance. There are certain songs, to the accompaniment of which women are permitted to dance. But the women must have passed their climacteric.

They do not use gourd rattles as at the other dances. Instead a [534]
number of deer hoofs are strung together and used in place of them. (They do not eat with their hands or with the ordinary sticks) but use instead forked sticks, whittled down at one end. The leader wears a headdress to which a horn is attached, and paints his body with the same color as his arrows. Whoever leads the dance carries a flute, which he plays before and after each song. Those following him hit their mouth with the palm of their hands and whoop.

When the dance is over, each one of the feasters takes his plate and dances out.[17]

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[17] This account of the Herok'a Society is unfortunately merely fragmentary, but from a few additional notes obtained there seems to be little doubt that it represents the same type of organization as the other religious fraternities.

SOCIETY OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN BLESSED BY THE BUFFALO SPIRITS

776 Informant, member of the Bear clan: "Come, it is the time for
575 giving the Buffalo Feast," said my father, "so tell the attendants to
539 get ready; and you, third-born, if you see anyone, tell him about the
feast that we are going to give."

So I went to Fire-starter and said, "Nephew, my father is about to give a feast, and he wants his attendants to get ready. You are to go over to his lodge and get a few more attendants to help you. We also will get ready right away." Then I greeted him and he said, "All right, I will go and get some to help me." I returned to my father and told him what I had done. He told me to go and inform those who were to take part in the feast that they were to bring food. This I likewise did and returned with the information that they would all do as desired.

Now the attendants arrived and asked what was expected of them. They were told to haul the wood and cut the poles to be used in building the lodge, prepare the fireplaces, and put the kettles on the fire. After that they were to go and tell the young women to get the food ready. When the drum was fixed and the food prepared, then the feast would begin, they were told.

"Well, Green-hair, my nephew, it is about time for you to go down toward the timber and invite the people. You, my nephew, Fire-starter, may go to those who possess war bundles and invite them. Go especially to Strikes-the-earth-with-his-wings and tell him that he must come immediately. When you come back, Green-hair, get the earth mound (*maⁿwarup'urura*) ready. Construct two of them in the lodge. Then place upon them all the things that we are going to use in the dance."

The drum, the flute, the buffalo tails, the buffalo heads were all painted and placed there.

Then the feasters arrived. He-who-strikes-with-his-wings was to sit opposite Fleet-one. When all had entered and were seated Hodja'noka arose and spoke:

"War-bundle owners, all you who have been blessed by the buffalo-spirits and are seated here, you who are taking the place of the spirits and giving counsel like them, I thank you and greet you all. You are taking the place of the spirits. Just as we ask for long life from the spirits, so do we ask the same of you. Relatives, I know I am going to tire you all out, but do not take it amiss. What we long for, aid us in obtaining. Life is what I wish.

"What I am doing now I did not originate, for my ancestor
[787] Hodja'noka was the one blessed by the buffalo-spirits. When he
was a child he was blessed by them and they gave him a certain

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plant and blessed him with long life and with victorious warpaths. 796
He asked to be remembered by Hodja'noka in his offerings. The 575
buffalo-spirit told him that if he would pour tobacco for him, and 539
give feasts and make offerings of eagle feathers, the blessings he had [782]
given him would last forever.

"All these blessings were handed down to my father. These I also was taught. This life do we pray for and we have asked you all to come and help us. We thank you for it. As soon as the 796
attendants are finished with the preparation of the food then we 575
will eat. Our servants may perhaps burn their hands while pre- 539
paring the food, but they will obtain life by so doing. Those who possess war bundles are always told to help one another and I know that you have come here for that reason. Life I am seeking and that is why I am giving this feast. Help me, all you owners of bundles who are present here. I will now sing some of the songs that Hodja'noka taught us. You who have obtained blessings, I greet you."

Then he sang the following songs:

Song 1 [533]

Naŋgura homa'ni hiwiĕ. (Repeat.)
In the road walk let him do.

Song 2

Hodja'noka hamani'winĕ. (Repeat.)
Hodjanoka Walk by.

Song 3

Kâra Hodja'noka hamani'winĕ.
Say, Hodjanoka Walk by.

Dancing song

Hodja'noka tcawawi're. (Repeat.)
Hodjanoka go toward.
Erehu'na. (Repeat twice.) Wiga'rĕ. (Repeat twice.)
It is coming say to them.

As soon as Hodja'noka finished his songs, then all the objects (drum, gourds, etc.) were passed to He-who-strikes-the-earth-with-his-wings, and he rose and spoke:

"Brother-in-law, councilors, relatives, all who are seated here, I greet you. You who have been blessed with bundles, I greet likewise. You are taking the place of the spirits. It is good. We are trying to encourage one another and we have come to help you. We have brought you food for the feast. We also are desirous of obtaining long life and that is why we have brought our offerings, for we know the buffalo-spirits will accept them, as they are very tempting. You who are taking the place of the spirits, I greet you."

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Then he sings some songs and dances and passes the drum, etc., to the next guest and so it, in turn, is passed on until the fourth invited guest is reached. Then the drum is replaced in the center of the lodge.[18]

[782] Informant, unknown clan:[19] Buffalo feasts are given in spring, in fall, and in midwinter. No meat is offered, but only vegetables. The buffaloes said that maple sugar is their favorite food, so when this feast is given they always have some maple sugar along with the other things. The buffalo feast always takes place in a long lodge. The attendants make the lodge and boil all the food. When the kettles have been placed on the fire those giving the feast enter. The earth mound is now constructed and tobacco offered to it. All those giving the feast pour tobacco on the earth mound, asking for victory in war. When this is finished they sing buffalo songs, starting with the initial songs. When they are ready to sing the dancing songs the feast-giver rises and speaks as follows:

"The dancing songs that we are about to sing we use because we believe that our offering will thus be accepted. It is generally the custom to do this."

He now calls on some one to lead in the dance. This individual is always taken from the Buffalo clan. He comes forward, placing the buffalo head on his own head and carrying the buffalo tail attached to himself. He leads in all the dances, the others following him. A plate of maple sugar is placed at the buffalo mound. When he approaches the buffalo mound he makes a noise like a buffalo, sticks his tongue to the plate of sugar, and licks up some of it. Those following do the same. This they do without even holding the dish, just as buffaloes eat. When they finish their dancing they pass the drum on to another person, and when it has made the circuit of the lodge they eat. Each person has his own dish. Then the leader in the dance is told that the dish of wild rice standing in the center of the lodge is meant for him, and that he can invite whomsoever he likes to help him. When all in the lodge are ready they start eating all at the same time. When those in the center of the lodge get through and the dish is empty it is thrown over their heads, and they do not stop this until the dish has been turned upside down. While they are engaged in doing this they bellow like buffaloes. They are not allowed to use their hands in turning the dish over. They must do it with their heads, for it is a sacred thing and that is the way the buffaloes used to do it. When they are all through eating the feast-giver sings a dancing song and all those within the lodge rise, take their plates, and dance out of the lodge.

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[18] In this account it is not quite clear whether the drum is merely passed to the four principal guests or to all. At the buffalo dance witnessed by the writer in the summer of 1908 it was passed only to the four principal guests. This was also corroborated by a number of informants.

[19] The origin myth of this feast is given on page 383.

Description of buffalo dance and its origin. Informant, member of 796
Bear clan: The buffalo dance can be given by anybody who has been 575
blessed by the buffalo spirits. In the beginning the Winnebago had
animal forms, and they could obtain all the power they wanted, but [787]
since they left that stage of life they can obtain power only by fasting.
John's buffalo feast is of recent origin. It originated with his
grandfather.

A long lodge is prepared and in the center there is a pile of loose 796
dirt. John's grandfather's name was Hodjanaga, Young-man-just- 575
maturing. In fasting he found out that he was blessed with powers 787
to cure the sick and be victorious in battle. While fasting, the spirits told him that he would receive what he was longing for. They told him that he would know what to do, for they would come after him. Soon they came after him and took him into camp (i. e., spirit country). When he got there, he saw an old man and a child, and he was told that it was on account of the child that he had been brought there; that the child had heard his prayers while fasting and had blessed him. Then they showed him a certain herb and told him, "This is what we give you. It will give you strength in running. Use it in time of war, and use it also as medicine for life. I have blessed you and given you what you desired and do you, in turn, make me a dog feast and give me red feathers, tobacco, and food." Then they taught him the songs and gave him a buffalo tail and a flute.

No invitation sticks are used. They go around and invite those 796
whom they want. 575

When the grasses are well developed, then the Buffalo clan people [203]
make a feast to their life or clan; also in midwinter, for that is the time when all the spirits awaken from their night's sleep and turn over on the other side.

SOCIETY OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN BLESSED BY THE GRIZZLY BEAR 796

Informant, member of Bear clan: The grizzly-bear dance was 575
given by those who had been blessed during their fasting by the 787
grizzly bear. Women were never so blessed, and for that reason [562]
they never could participate in the dance. Different people received different blessings. We were blessed with two grizzly-bear heads, grizzly-bear hides, and paws. In the lodge constructed for the dance was placed a mound of earth called maⁿwarap'uru. The maⁿwarap'uru is supposed to represent a bear's cave, the four points of the cross representing the entrances to the cave and the four lines running to the center, the paths along which the grizzly bear travels when he scents a man. The place in the middle is supposed to be the habitation of the bear himself. Tobacco and red feathers are placed both [782]
in the center and at the four points.

796 575 [787] in the center and at the four points. Only people who had been blessed by the grizzly bear were permitted to sing and dance. The dancing itself took place both around the lodge and around the maⁿwarap'uru. The dancers are supposed to imitate the motions and the cries of the grizzly bear. Sometimes they whirl themselves round and round, like a grizzly bear, but their principal motion consists in stretching out their hands. In this position they will take tobacco from the maⁿwarap'uru and eat it. They believe that they are representing the bears when they do this.

The dancers are selected by the one giving the dance. Those taking part vie with each other in exhibiting the powers with which they have been blessed, because in this way those present could see who possessed the greatest powers.

The purpose of the dance was to thank the grizzly bears for the blessings they had bestowed upon the people. (However, there seemed to be many other special occasions for which the dance was performed.)

If sick people are present at the dance they are told to put some tobacco on the maⁿwarap'uru and ask for life.

There is a description of the grizzly-bear dance in the account of Little Priest's life which it might be well to append here in view of the brevity of the above description.

796 755 575 "Little Priest had been wounded in so many places that he was practically dead. He was, of course, entirely unconscious when his relatives arrived. They decided to perform the grizzly-bear dance for him. He himself had been blessed by the grizzly bears when he was young.

"The dance was to be given at the lodge of an Indian named Good Soldier. They carried Little Priest to the lodge in a blanket, so that they could sing for him and permit him to show the powers he possessed. He was unable to move on account of the wounds and the bruises he had gotten. The man who sang for him at that time was South-Wind. There were all in all ten Indians, entirely naked, except for their breechclouts. Little Priest had told South-Wind that he was a grizzly bear and that he could heal himself (no matter how badly he had been wounded).

"As soon as the songs and dancing commenced Little Priest began to move his little fingers. Soon he was able to move his arm as far as his forearm, and gradually he regained the power of moving the entire arm. Finally he sat up and began to keep time on the drum. Then he tried to stand on his feet, but owing to his weakness it was only with the greatest difficulty that he could straighten out his body. Finally he stood erect. Then he started to walk around the lodge very slowly. The second circuit he made more easily, and by the time he had made the fourth circuit he was dancing just as the other dancers were with all his strength restored. Then he walked to the maⁿwarup'uru, took some earth, rubbed it on his wounds, and they were healed immediately. There was only one wound that he could not heal, which was situated on a part of his back that he could not reach with his hands." 796 755 575

He sang many songs while dancing. These songs were the ones that the spirits had taught him when they blessed him.

GRIZZLY BEAR SONGS

1

[533
539]

Newine'na newine'na haⁿptcaⁿnê.
I am he, I am he, the day it is I.

2

Ha'naⁿninxguⁿne'k'tca hininġai'rê nink'tca'iⁿninkara d,anûŋga'grê.
That you would be you were by the children as many as there are.
listened to told

3

Maⁿtcô'jaⁿ ho'dadjohi'rera.
The grizzly bear was starting to roam.

4

Wa'wonatcaⁿt'iⁿ nihe'ka.
Shouting you can hear him.
Ho'ratcaⁿt'iⁿ nihe'ka.
His voice you can hear.

her, there stood a very young woman, her hair like a shawl. "It is 773
good, grandmother, and I thank you in the name of my aunts. 776
Then for the second time she said, "Look at me." He looked at her
and there stood a woman in middle age, her hair almost gray. "Well,
grandmother, it is good, that is what I meant." Then for the fourth
time she said, "Grandson, look at me." He looked at her. Her
hair was entirely dried up, in the nape of her neck there was a hollow,
and like a duck looking at the sun, she appeared. Her chin, like a
wooden poker, burnt short, there she stood trembling. "Well,
grandmother, this is what I meant when I said that you were to
help me. My uncles and aunts that is what I wished for them, and
I thank you."

Organization of the Bands

The medicine dance of the Winnebago consists of five bands. A 796 ●
sixth band is temporarily formed whenever the ceremony is given 621
in honor of a deceased member.

For purposes of description it will be best to divide each band into three parts—the leader, his two assistants, and the rest of the band. Leadership depends upon a thorough knowledge of the ceremony and its complete esoteric significance, which is in the possession of only a few individuals in each band. This knowledge can be obtained solely by purchase and religious qualifications. These religious qualifications, to which might be added moral as well, play little part at the present day, but there can be no doubt that they were essential in the past. The leader likewise often possessed other characteristics, such as those of warrior and shaman.

The two assistants were generally men who had purchased sufficient information and privileges to entitle them to help the leader in certain details of the ceremony. The drummers, rattle holders, dancers, etc., were always recruited from their ranks. Eventually they might become the leaders. Those who were neither leaders nor assistants possessed a knowledge varying from that of elementary information, required for admission, to that entitling them to the position of assistant.

There is a priority of position in the lodge, depending on priority [554]
of invitation. The band invited first occupies the east position;
that invited second, the north; that invited third, the west; and
that invited fourth, the south. The east is the position of highest
honor; the south, that of the lowest. Between the bands there
exists an order of invitation based on tradition, the exact nature
of which is unknown. According to one informant, if one band
invited another, the latter in turn would be obliged to give it the
position of honor; but as there are five bands, this can apply only
to special cases. Whatever may be the order, it is certain that
each band has ample occasion to occupy all five positions.

621 The leaders of the west and south bands receive each 3½ yards
756 of calico and a fourth of the food.

431 The ancestor host receives various gifts of food and tobacco from the leaders of the other bands. He receives his payment from the candidate before the ceremony proper.

756 The candidate is present at the four nights' ceremony of the an-
796 cestor host's band, preliminary to the ceremony proper. At the latter ceremony he sits to the right of the ancestor host's band. He is not dressed in his new suit until after the secret ceremonies in the brush.

302 There are facial decorations distinctive of the different bands:
621 The host's band and the candidate paint a blue circle on each cheek, but its significance is unknown to the writer.

The regalia used are simple and few. They consist of eagle, hawk, squirrel, beaver, and otter-skin bags (pls. 51–53), a drum, gourd rattles, and invitation sticks. The otter-skin bags are always beaded and contain the sacred shell and various medicines. A few red feathers are always inserted in the mouth of the otter-skin bag. The gourds contain buckshot at the present time and are painted with blue finger marks.

Division of the ceremony.—The medicine dance is divided into five well-marked parts. The first part (I) consists of the two nights' preparation preceding the sending out of the invitation sticks. This takes place at the home of the ancestor host in the presence of the members of his band and the candidate. The second part (II) consists of the four nights' preparation preceding the sweat-lodge ritual. Each band has its own four nights' preparation, although that of the ancestor host begins before the others. The third part (III) consists of the rites held in a sweat lodge, specially constructed for this purpose near the medicine lodge, on the morning after the four nights' preparation. The participants are the ancestor host, the leaders of the east, west, north, and south bands, each with his two assistants, and the candidate. The fourth part (IV) consists of the ceremony proper, which in turn must be divided into the night ceremony (*a*) and the day ceremony (*b*). The fifth part (V) consists of the rites held in the brush, at which the secrets of the society are imparted to the candidate. Special guards are placed on all sides of the brush to prevent the intrusion of outsiders. The participants,
[625] besides the candidate, are the ancestor host, the leaders of the east and north bands, each with his two assistants, and all other individuals who have bought the privilege of attending. These ceremonies take place at dawn preceding the day ceremony.

Two feasts and one intermission interrupt the main ceremony. The feasts always take place at the end of the ritual of the east
[621] band—i. e., generally at noon and at midnight. The intermission

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923

NP12 Winnebago NP12

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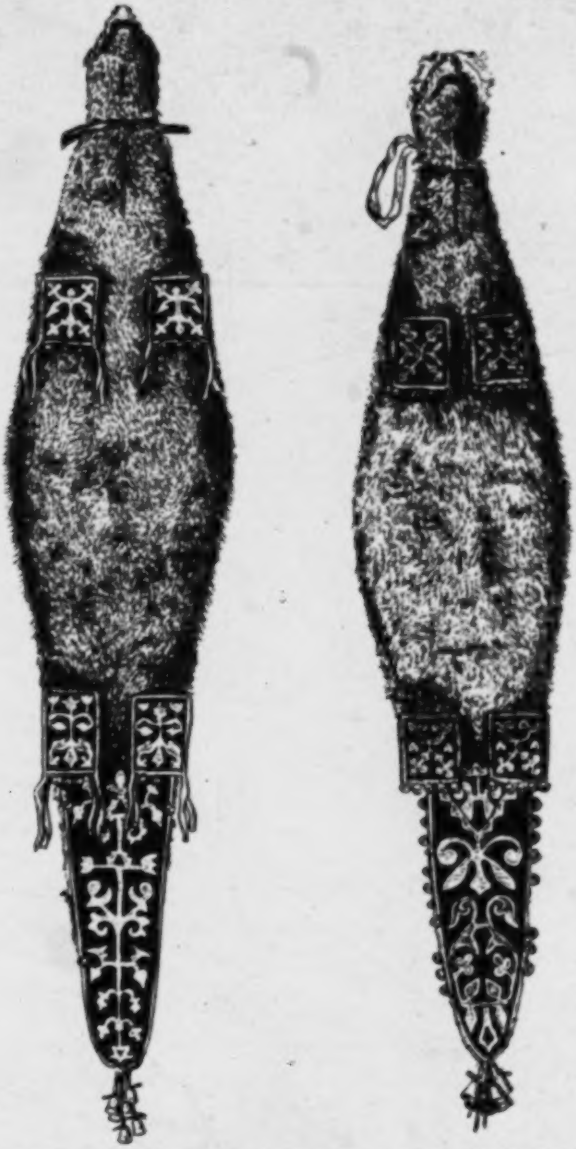

OTTER-SKIN MEDICINE POUCHES USED AT MEDICINE DANCE

[Facing p. 362 (A)]

1: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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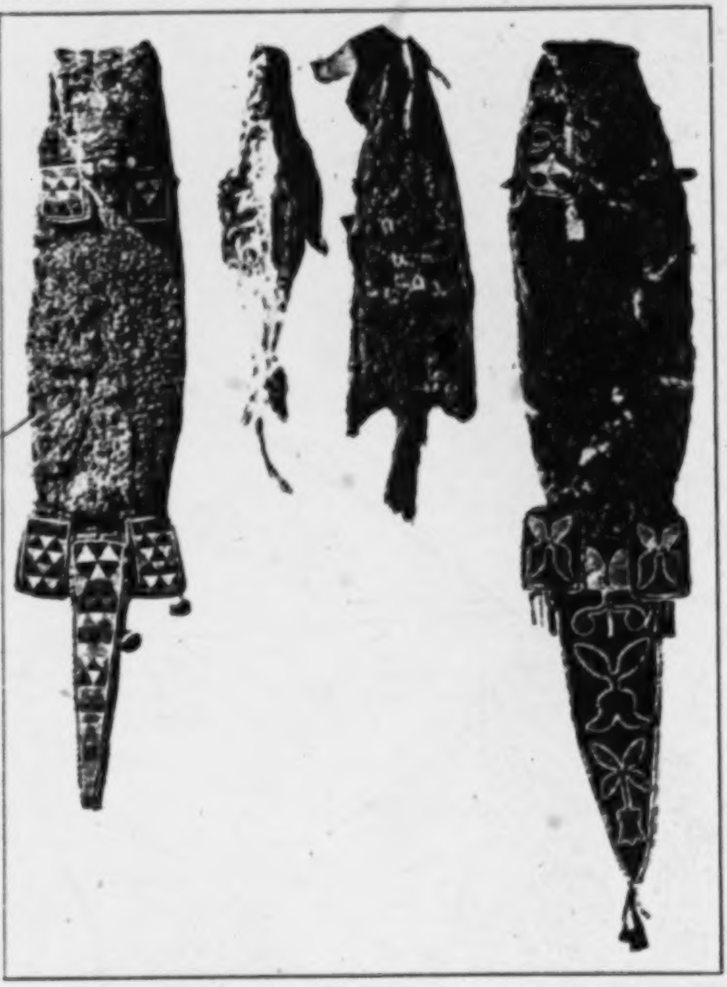

POUCHES OF ANIMAL SKINS USED AT MEDICINE DANCE

[Facing p. 362 (B)]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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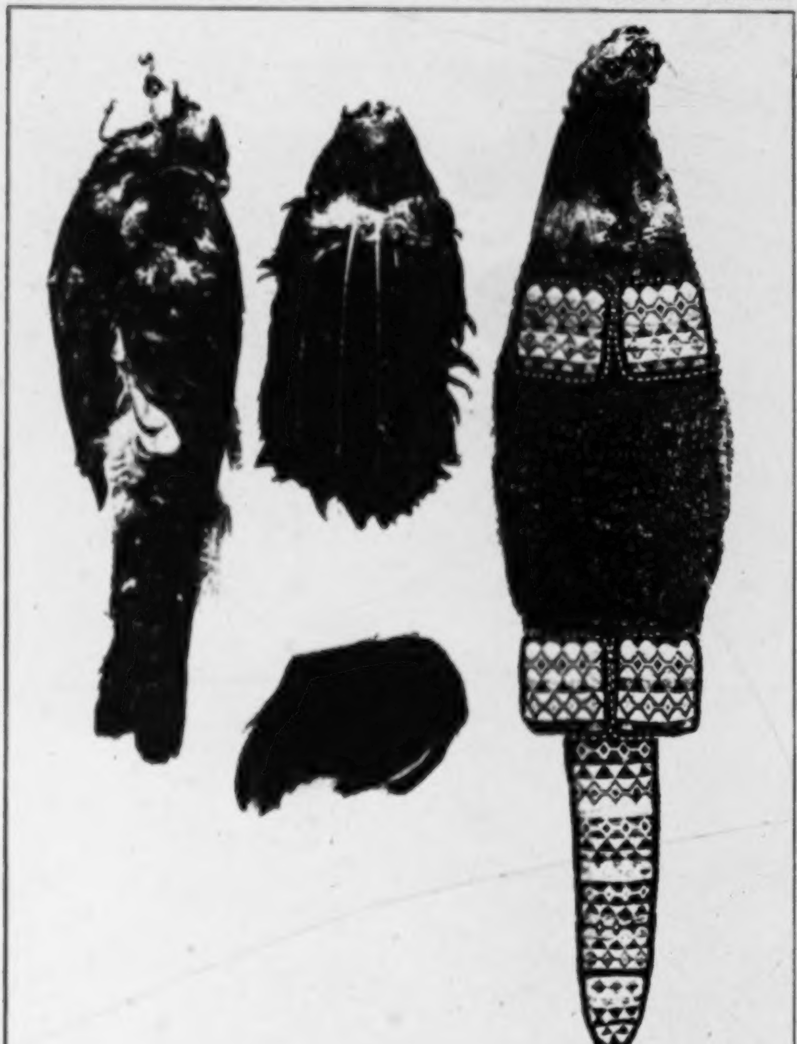

SKIN POUCHES AND FEATHER FANS USED AT MEDICINE DANCE

[Facing p. 362 (c)]

generally lasts from dawn preceding the day ceremony until 7 or 8 a. m. The intermission begins as soon as the drum and gourds have been returned to the ancestor host and ends as soon as the people return from the brush ritual. 756 796

The first and second parts are concerned entirely with a recital of certain ritualistic myths and a rehearsal of the songs and the specific ritual of each band used during the remaining parts.

Types and component elements of the ceremony. For purposes of greater clarity, the speeches, songs, and types of action will be carefully differentiated and referred to by some designation characterizing their essential traits. These speeches, songs, and types of action together form combinations which may be regarded as units, and they will therefore also be referred to by some designation characteristic of their function.

1. Types of speeches (1) Salutations: No formal salutation is used during Parts I and II, the individuals being addressed by their relationship terms. In Parts III, IV and V the salutations are invariably the same. The ancestor host and his band are addressed as follows: "The-one-occupying-the-seat-of-a-relative (deceased) and you-who-sit-with-him, do I salute." The east is addressed, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-rises"; the north, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-cold-comes-from"; the west, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-straightens," or (preferably) "You-who-represent-the-end-of-the-road." 756 796 537 576

The appellations of the bands, as before stated, refer to the creation myth and the four guardian spirits whom Hare visited for the purpose of inquiring into the necessity and meaning of death. Hare was compelled to travel around the earth, which is conceived of as an island, and received no answer until he came to the spirit at the end of the road. In the dramatic performance of the medicine dance the lodge typifies the earth and the four bands and their leaders typify the four spirits. The ancestor host's band typifies the ancestor of the Winnebago. 773 756 796 621 [772]

(2) Speeches: Under this head will be treated (*a*) speeches of welcome; (*b*) speeches of acceptation; (*c*) speeches of presentation; (*d*) speeches explanatory of the significance of the ritual; and (*e*) speeches of admonition, addressed exclusively to the candidate. This does not exhaust all. There are many others, generally short, that can hardly be classified. In their content, as well as in the order of their succession, the speeches must follow a traditionally determined sequence. In practice this is certainly not always true, but to the mind of the Winnebago these speeches appear as old as the ceremony. It is their firm belief that any departure from the accepted type will interfere with the efficacy of the ceremony. 776 537 756

796 (*a*) Speeches of welcome: When the leader of the east band enters
756 after the ancestor host has begun the ceremony (IV, *b*), he addresses
537 the latter as follows: "It was good of you to condescend to invite me
576 to this dance. I am a poor pitiable man and you believed me to be a
medicine man. However, I know you will show me the true manner of living, which I thought I possessed, but which I in reality did not." In this strain he continues, weaving into his speech references to the ritual connected with his band and offering thanks for the beautiful weather (should it be a clear day). In concluding he thanks all again, and informs them that he will sing a song. With slight alterations the leaders of the other bands address the ancestor host similarly. The ancestor host's answer of welcome is as follows: "Whatever I desired you have done for me. All night have you stayed with me and by your presence helped me in the proper performance of this ceremony. I am ready with a dancing song, and when I have finished and sit down I shall pass to you tobacco and other means of blessing (the gourds and the drum). All who are present do I greet."

(*b*) Speeches of acceptation: After the ancestor host has been presented with food he thanks the donors as follows: "You have had pity on me. You have been good to me and have given me to the full whatever I desired. You have filled my heart with the blessing of thankfulness. In return I give you a blessing. Here is some food for you. It is not anything special, nor is it as much as it ought to be, and I know you will remain hungry. It was prepared for the spirits of the four quarters (whom you represent), but it is lacking in all those qualities which would have made it acceptable to them. Such as it is, however, may its presentation be a means of blessing to you."

796 (*c*) Speech of presentation: East presents the food to the ancestor
756 host with the following words: "I have not very much to tell you,
(537 because I am too poor, but our ancestors told us to give you food.
This little that I give is all that I can, being a person of so little importance."

(*d*) Explanatory speeches: These are of so specific a nature that no single one can be considered typical.

(*e*) Speeches of admonition: "Nephew, now I shall tell you the
path you must walk, the life you must lead. This is the life Hare
obtained for us. This is the only kind of life—this that our ancestors
followed. Listen to me. If you will always help yourself, then you
[867] will attain to the right life. Never do anything wrong. Never steal,
never tell an untruth, and never fight. If you meet a woman on the left side of the road, turn to the right. Never accost her nor speak familiarly with a person whom you are not permitted thus to address. If you do all these things, then you will be acting correctly. This is what I desire of you."

2. Types of songs: The songs may be divided into two groups: 796
(1) Those that are sung in connection with myths and after the 756
speeches of a more general nature, and (2) those that are sung to 533
accompany definite and specific actions. These latter can therefore be most conveniently divided into (*a*) minor dance songs, (*b*) major dance songs, (*c*) initial songs, (*d*) terminal songs, (*e*) leading songs, and (*f*) shooting songs. The medicine men distinguish only between four kinds of songs: major and minor dance, terminal, and shooting songs. Each has a different rhythm and music. For purposes of description, however, the above division is more convenient.

3. Types of action: (1) Blessing: Either hand is held outstretched, 756
palm downward, and moved horizontally through the air. It is 788
always used when entering and leaving the lodge and on any occasion where an individual has to pass from one part of the lodge to another.

It is always rendered as "blessing" by the Indians, and they particularly insist upon the fact that the "blessing" was not conveyed by any words used in connection with the action, but by the action itself. Each person who is thus passed answers with a long-drawn-out "*ho o o*" and with an obeisance of the head.

A modification of the above is the "blessing of the head," which consists of a simple laying of the hand upon the head, both the giver and the recipient keeping their eyes fixed upon the ground, the recipient slightly bending his head. A few mumbled words accompany this action.

(2) Direction of walking in the lodge: Individuals always walk con- 756
trary to the hands of the clock. A person in the east end must 796
make the entire circuit of the lodge in order to pass out. In only 823
exceptional cases can this rule of passing be broken, and that is when an old and especially privileged member crosses from his seat to that directly opposite him during the shooting ceremony. I was given to understand that this was an extremely expensive privilege.

4. Types of ritual: Parts III, IV, and V can be so analyzed that 796
they fall into a fairly well-defined number of units, consisting of 756
speeches, songs, and movements. These units are nine in number. Artificial distinctions have been avoided in this division, as far as possible. The units are (1) entrance ritual; (2) exit ritual; (3) fire ritual; (4) presentation-of-food ritual; (5) shooting ritual; (6) initiation ritual; (7) sweat-lodge ritual; (8) smoking ritual; (9) basic ritual.

Of these, (3), (5), (7), (8), and (9) are found in Part III; all except (7) and (6) in Part IV (*a*); and all except (7) in Part IV (*b*). (5) does not actually occur in Part III, but is described in detail in the myth related there. The order in which we will discuss these ceremonial units is not the order in which they follow one another in the ritual. Some are interwoven with one another. Both these factors will, however, be considered in the description of the entire ritual, following the description of each ceremonial unit.

756 ●776 (1) Entrance ritual: The band enters the tent, makes one complete circuit, and stops. The leader now delivers a short speech, followed by a song. The band then continues to the west end, where another speech is delivered and another song sung. After this the band continues again, and stops at the east end, where the leader talks and sings. Now all sit down. After a short pause the leader again rises and walking over to the ancestor host, talks to him, gives him some tobacco, and returns to his seat. Each band entering repeats the same ritual. This applies, however, only to Part IV (*a*) and (*b*).

(2) Exit ritual (Part IV (*a*) and (*b*)): The east leader rises and speaks, followed by north, west, and south. Each one then speaks again and, all singing, all walk toward the entrance in such a way that the south, north, and west bands make complete circuits of the lodge, thus enabling the east band to precede them. Near the entrance all stop singing and say "*wa-hi-hi-hi*" four times and pass out. This exit ceremony differs slightly in the two divisions of IV.

(3) Fire ritual, Part III: The ancestor host rises and goes to the leaders of the four other bands individually; and after he has blessed them they respond; then all rise, make four circuits of the lodge, and sit down again. The leader of the east band now rises, holding in his hand the invitation sticks and some tobacco, delivers a speech, then goes to the fireplace and kindles the new fire.

[782 276] (4) Smoking ritual: The leader of the east band pours tobacco into the fire, first at the east, and then at the north, west, and south corners. He then lights his pipe, puffs first toward the east, then toward the north, west, and south, after which he passes his pipe to the leader of the north band, who takes a few whiffs and in turn passes it around to the next member of the lodge. When the pipe has made the complete circuit it is placed in front of the fireplace. In the meantime the ancestor host has returned to his seat, and after a short pause, rises, speaks, and sings again. This smoking ceremony occurs after each entrance ceremony, IV (*a*) and (*b*), and before both feasts of IV (*a*) and (*b*).

Presentation-of-food ritual (Part IV, *a* and *b*).—The leader of the east band rises and brings meat, berries, wild potatoes, etc., to the ancestor host, delivering a minor speech at the same time. Each of the other leaders repeats the same ceremony. When all have finished, the ancestor host rises and thanks them.

(5) General shooting ritual (Part IV, *a* and *b*): The leaders of the east, north, west, and south bands, holding their otter skins in their hands, rise and, accompanied by three men, make a complete circuit of the lodge. They first speak in undertones to these three men, giving them directions. At each end the leader of the east band speaks, and then, singing, walks toward the west end, saying "yoho—

o—oyn—a" three times, and ending with a long-drawn-out "*yo—ho.*" 756
At the west end both he and the leader of the south band 796
speak. Then chanting "*yo—ho*" again, they all walk toward the east end. Here the leader of the east band speaks twice. All now place their otter skins on the ground in front of them, and east speaks again. At the conclusion of his speech, all kneel in front of the otter skins and cough, at which the sacred shell drops from their mouths upon the otter skins. They thereupon pick it up, and holding the shell in one hand and the otter skins in the other, make a circuit of the lodge four times, increasing their speed each time, and singing. All this time the shell is held in full view of the spectators, on the outstretched palm of the right hand. As they near the east end of the lodge, at the end of the fourth circuit, standing in front of the ancestor host's band, they supposedly swallow the shell, and fall down, instantaneously, head foremost, as if dead. Finally they come to, and coughing up the shell they put it into their otter-skin bags, and then making the circuit of the tent, shoot four members of the ancestor host's band, four of the east, four of the north, two of the west, and two of the south band. Each person as he is shot falls prostrate upon the ground, but recovering after a few moments, joins those making the circuit of the tent. Each leader now takes his drum and gourds to the fireplace. Then the general shooting commences. Each person possessing the right shoots one individual, until all the members have been shot. As each person is shot he falls to the ground, feigns unconsciousness, and then slowly recovers. The slowness or speed of his recovery depends exclusively upon the privileges he possesses and the number of years he has belonged to the society. As soon as each person shot recovers he falls in line immediately after the last one shot. While all are thus walking around a half dozen people at the fireplace sing shooting songs to the accompaniment of drums and gourds. The amount of noise at this point is quite considerable.

(6) Initiation ritual (Part IV, *b*): All the members of the ancestor host's band and the candidate make one circuit of the lodge, taking their otter skins with them. As they pass around they gently touch the heads of the members with the mouth of the otter skin, saying "*Yoho—o—o*", to which the members respond with "*Ho—o—o.*" After the circuit, all return to their seats, with the exception of the candidate, who remains at the east end in front of the fireplace. After a pause the ancestor host joins the latter and delivers a speech of the admonition type. The candidate first faces the south and then the north. During the speech the ancestor host touches him on his head and on his chest and makes him face first south and then north. When the speech is over the ancestor host sings and takes the candidate to the west end of the tent.

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●796 The tent is now prepared for the initiation proper. Two long strips of calico are stretched from the west to the east end of the lodge. They are about a foot and a half wide and are separated from each other by the fireplace. At the west end a much shorter strip of the same material is stretched along the width of the lodge across the two long strips. Upon this the candidate is placed. When these preparations are completed the ancestor host arises and going to each of the four leaders speaks to them in an undertone. He then returns to his seat. The leaders of the east and north bands now arise and make the complete circuit of the lodge. First the former and then the latter speaks. Then the former speaks twice. After that the leader of the north band delivers another speech and, together with his partner, walks to the west end of the lodge, where the candidate is kneeling. The two leaders here speak again. Both now take their sacred shells, swallow them, and walk to the east end (pls. 52, 53).

Here they speak again and hold their otter skins in readiness for the shooting, but first jerk them forward twice toward the four cardinal points, saying "*dje-ha-hi, dje-ha-hi,*" and concluding with "*e-ho-ho-ho.*" Standing upon the two calico strips in a slightly bent position and holding the otter skin tightly in their hands, they now run rapidly toward the reclining form of the candidate, making loud threatening sounds in a quavering voice, and strike his body twice with the mouth of the otter skin, emitting two short sounds as of an animal who has succeeded in capturing his prey. The candidate falls prostrate to the ground instantaneously. He is immediately covered with a blanket upon which are placed the otter skins of the two leaders. A number of people especially privileged now gather around the covered figure, dance, sing, and shout to the accompaniment of the shouts of the other members of the society, all of whom seem in a frenzy of excitement. When the noise has somewhat abated the blanket is removed and the figure of the candidate is shown, still apparently unconscious. He comes to slowly and finally succeeds in raising himself and sitting up. He then coughs violently, and the shell which has apparently been shot through his body falls out of his mouth. After this his recovery is rapid. He is then undressed and the finery and new buckskin suit, moccasins, etc., are distributed to those to whom it is customary to give them. He now returns to his seat, to the right of the ancestor host's band, where some female relative, generally his mother, dresses him in an ordinary suit.

(7) Sweat-lodge ritual (Part III): The east leader rises and with his two assistants makes the circuit of the sweat lodge, while the north, west, and south leaders each with two assistants join him. At the east end the leader makes four steps with his right foot, each

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time saying, "*Wa-hi-hi.*" He then makes the circuit of the lodge four times. After the third circuit he goes directly to the heating stone, "in defiance of the rule," as he himself says, but with the hope that through this defiance he will gain additional strength. After he has made the fourth circuit he seizes the two entrance lodge poles and, shaking them gently, shouts "*e-ho-ho-ho.*" All now sit down. The ancestor host now takes four sticks and smears them with a special kind of greenish clay and hands them to the leader of the east band. The latter seizes them and holds them tightly with both hands. By this action he is supposed to obtain strength. The sticks are then passed in rotation to the leaders of the north, west, and south bands, all of whom repeat the same ceremony.

(9) Basic ritual (Part IV, *a* and *b*): This ritual is that upon which the ritual for the ceremony proper (Part IV, *a* and *b*) is built. In a certain sense it may be justifiable to consider all the above ritualistic complexes with the exception of the entrance and exit rituals as parts of this basic ritual. The important religious function of the medicine dance is the "passing" of the blessing, consisting of speeches, songs, and the blessings, going from one band to the other, for the greater benefit of both the host and his guests. These blessings are symbolized by the drum, the gourds, the songs, the speeches, and the specific actions in which each band participates. The ceremony begins when the ancestor host delivers his first speech and ends when drum and gourds are returned to him. All that takes place between the ancestor host's first speech up to the time that the drum and gourds are placed before the members of the east band constitutes the unit that I have called the basic ritual. Into it are thrust as intrusive elements other rituals, so that it is at times extremely difficult to discern the basic ritual itself. But it is there and remains intact, for as soon as an intrusive ritual is finished it is taken up and continued to the end. Such a ritual as the general shooting or the initiation, or such myths as the origin myth, require hours; and yet as soon as they are over the basic ceremony continues from the point where it has been interrupted.

The east leader rises, speaks, then sits down, and, together with the other members of his band, sings a song (initial song). When this is finished he rises and speaks again, sits down, and commences a song called the minor dancing song. While he and a few others are singing, drumming, and using the gourd rattles, other members of his band, as well as members of the other bands who so desire, and who have bought the privilege, come to his seat and join in the dancing. When this is over he and a few others, either from his own or from some other band, go to the fireplace, where the leader delivers a speech, and begin the major dancing songs, in which the privileged members participate. After this the drum is tied to one of the

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privileged members, generally the one who has been drumming, and the circuit is made twice, the leader and his two assistants at the head, followed by the other members of his band. Two stops are made at the west and two at the east end, where songs, called completion songs, are sung. Then the circuit is made four times, all chanting "*Wa-hi-hi*," slowly at first, then faster, the speed of the walking corresponding to that of the chanting. Then with a final strong "*e—ho—ho*" drum and gourds are deposited in front of the next band. All now return to their seats, where before sitting down the leaders deliver a short speech.

This basic ritual is repeated by each band in the manner described. As it is so often broken up by the intrusion of other rituals it will be best to divide it into four parts. These parts are never broken up. Whenever intrusive elements occur, they either precede or follow.

The first part consists of all that takes place between the first speech of the leader and the completion of the initial song. The speech referred to is the one that follows the smoking ritual, which may, on the whole, be reckoned as belonging to the introductory ritual, such as the entrance ritual. The second part consists of all that transpires between the second speech and the conclusion of the minor dancing song. The third part consists of all that happens between the speech at the fireplace and the completion of the major dancing songs. The fourth part includes everything between the completion of the major dancing songs and the last speech the leader makes, after he has passed the drum and gourds to the next band.

The most bewildering intrusion is that which follows the second part. Before the leader and his assistants go to the fireplace the elaborate general shooting ritual takes place. After the specially designated men of each band have been shot, those privileged proceed to the fireplace. Here they sing the shooting songs until the ritual is over. The first set of drummers and gourd rattle holders are often relieved by a second set. It is only when the shooting songs have been completed that the leader and his assistants proceed to the fireplace to begin the third portion of the basic ritual.

Ceremony as a whole: As stated before, there are certain speeches and types of action that can not be fitted into the above description. This is especially true of myths; and these, with the exception of the content of the myth, will now be considered in connection with the description of the entire ritual as related to me by B. The ceremony begins with an account of the manner in which B. was induced to join the society. Upon his acceptance and payment of the required amount of material, the ceremony began.

The first two nights consisted of an informal salutation, two explanatory speeches, and four myths, the latter in no way connected with any part of the medicine dance. The last three myths dealt with the legendary account of the origin of the Winnebago medicine dance and its dissemination among the tribes.

At sunset the leader of the band to which the candidate has applied for admission gathers together the members of his band and all retire to a little lodge near his home, in order to begin the four nights' preparation. What actually takes place during these four nights is not as stereotyped as the other rituals connected with the medicine dance. There is a general rehearsal of songs, speeches, and other elements of the ceremony. The speeches are not actually rehearsals of those to be delivered during the ceremony proper, but refer to the purpose of the medicine dance much in the same way as do some of the speeches in the ceremony proper. A large number of miscellaneous myths are likewise related. The candidate who is present in the lodge of his future ancestor host is likewise instructed in as many things as an uninitiated member is allowed to know. This instruction consists in the teaching of certain myths and types of action.

On the morning after the last of the four nights the candidate is given some sacrifical tobacco and told to go in search of a stone for the sweat bath. He selects a stone that he can carry on his back easily. Before picking it up he pours tobacco on it. As soon as the stone is brought to the lodge of the host it is heated. The candidate is now dispatched for some oak branches, four pieces of oak wood about 2½ feet in length, and some grass. The grass is used for improvised seats; the oak wood for the four construction poles of the sweat lodge. They are placed in the east, north, west, and south points, respectively. It is not permitted to trim the tops of the oak wood. When all the bands have gathered near the medicine lodge and retired to their improvised lodges, the ancestor host and the candidate go to the lodge of the east leader, that is, to the lodge of the band first invited, and greet him by touching his head with their hands.

He answers with "*He—o—o.*" The leader of the first band rises and, accompanied by his two assistants, goes to the sweat lodge. The ancestor host then goes to the lodges of the other bands and greets the leaders in a similar manner. After the leader and assistants of the band last invited have entered the sweat lodge the ancestor host, the candidate, and his assistants enter, and the ceremony is begun.

After the ceremonial salutation and an introductory speech the ancestor host, as the leader of the band giving the medicine dance may now be called, rises, and taking his invitation stick and some tobacco, approaches the leader of each band, and blessing him, thanks him for coming, assuring him at the same time to how great a degree his presence will contribute toward the success of the performance of the ritual. He then returns to his seat. The leaders thank him in turn. Now follow the fire and smoking ritual, which in turn are

756
796 followed by twelve speeches of a general and explanatory character. Then comes the "strengthening" ritual, and immediately after two exceedingly long myths, describing the initiation of the first man into the secrets of the lodge, as well as the symbolic meaning of the shooting ritual. [515] All now undress and take a sweat bath. Female candidates are excluded. A number of short speeches follow, and the whole concludes with the exit ritual.

[534] The drum and gourds are used to accompany the songs. The basic ritual is perhaps present to a certain extent. The writer, however, was not permitted to witness the ritual, and for this reason the procedure seemed somewhat hazy to him.

When the ritual and the sweat baths are over there is a slight pause. The candidate, the ancestor host, and his band enter the medicine lodge, and after taking their seats sing a few songs. When the last song is concluded the other bands enter in the order of their invitation. Now comes the entrance ritual, followed by the smoking ritual. Thereupon the ancestor host rises and delivers the opening speech of the basic ritual. The ancestor host does not go through the entire basic ritual at this time, because he is not permitted to begin the shooting ritual. Soon after the beginning of the basic ritual by the ancestor host, generally after the second speech, gourds and drums are passed to the leader of the east band. This one rises and begins the basic ritual, which he interrupts at the end of the second part, in order to begin the general shooting ritual. When that is finished he continues the third and fourth parts of the basic ritual. Then drum and gourds are passed to the north band. Its leader now in turn begins his basic ritual, but stops after the second part, where the presentation-of-food and the smoking rituals intervene. It is now about midnight, and the feast is given. As soon as the feast is finished and the lodge has been cleared of food and eating utensils, the leader of the north band continues up to the third and fourth parts of the basic ritual. The leaders of the west and south bands perform the basic rituals without any interruption, except, of course, that of the general shooting ritual between the second and third parts. The drum and gourds have now reached the ancestor host, who goes through the third and fourth parts of the basic ritual. There is, however, some doubt as to whether this is always done. Then follows the exit ritual and all pass out to rest for a few hours.

A short time preceding dawn the candidate and the leaders of the east and north bands and the ancestor host, each with two assistants and all other members who are privileged to do so, leave the lodge and walk to the brush where the candidate is to be initiated into the mysteries of the sacred shell and the shooting. Each band must have one or more of its members present at this ritual. When they are near the place set aside for the secret ritual the order of marching, which up to this time has been of no consequence, changes into that of single file, the leader of the east band leading. When they have arrived at the proper place, all stop. The east leader now informs those present that he is going to make a road for the candidate symbolical of the path of life, which forms the basis of the sweat bath and medicine dance. Singing, he circles the spot four times. At the end of the fourth circuit he stops and all turn around and face east. The leader of the north band has also the right to go through this ritual, but he does not always do it. Repeating the ceremony is, in all probability, connected with extra expense. All now sit down and the specific rites of the brush ritual begin.

The ancestor host rises and, taking the candidate with him, goes to the leader of the east band and speaks to him. Then he and the candidate return to their seats. The east leader now relates to the candidate a portion of the story of the journey to the land of the spirits and to the lodge of Earthmaker. When this is finished the two leaders teach the candidate how to go through the actions incidental to the shooting, the swallowing of the shell, and the recovery from its effects. When they think that he is sufficiently adept in all these actions they dress him in his new suit, put on a new pair of moccasins, decorate him with finery, and return to the medicine lodge.

The rites generally last until about 8 in the morning, so that when those who have participated in the brush ritual are returning the other members of the medicine dance are also about ready to begin the day ceremony, the principal one of the entire medicine dance. The ancestor host again precedes the other leaders in entering the lodge. Then follows the entrance ritual. During this ritual the drum is struck four times at stated intervals. The smoking ritual now follows. When it is concluded the ancestor host rises to begin the basic ritual, which is interrupted at the end of the second part. Gourds and drum are passed to the east band, whose basic ritual is also interrupted at the end of the second part. Now follows first the initiation of the candidate into the medicine dance and then the general shooting ritual. When the east leader has concluded, drum and gourds are passed to the north band, whose basic ritual is not interrupted as on the preceding day. At the conclusion of the basic ritual of the north band the food-presentation ritual follows, then the smoking ritual, and finally the feast. After the feast the leader of the west band narrates the origin myth of the medicine dance, which is continued by the leader of the south band. The presents are then distributed. After this, the basic ritual is continued by the leader of the west band, followed by that of the south band, and finally the drum and gourds go to the fireplace. The exit ritual now begins, and at about sunset the entire ceremony of the medicine dance is over.

756 796 On the whole, it must be said that the main difference between (*a*) and (*b*) of Part IV, setting aside the initiation, lies simply in the number of myths told and the greater length of the speeches.

PERSONAL ACCOUNTS OF INITIATION

159 756 1. J. B.'s account: I was about 13 years and over when they told me that they would make me a member of the medicine dance. I liked it very much. Some people do not like it at all when they are asked to join the medicine dance. I, however, liked it very much. The medicine dance I am going to join, they told me. Very much did my parents desire me to do it. If I wished to live a holy life, that is what I should do, they told me.

Then, when everything was in readiness for my initiation, we moved on to the village where the ceremony was to take place. At night they were to sing at the medicine dance, and they, my relatives, were to join in the singing with them. There they also preached to me. They told me that this rite, the medicine dance, was a good thing. I did not even then think that those who were to initiate me into the medicine dance would kill me when they shot at me, as was the popular belief.

Never had there been such a life, they said, as the one I was going to live, now that I was about to join the medicine dance. Never at any time would I have thought of such a life. Those who were about to make me join the medicine dance told me that the Indians, when they hear of it, will expect me to do great things, that they will speak well of me, and like me. That is all I can now think of concerning that matter.

Now, those who are about to make me join the medicine dance are preparing to show me the shells, and for this purpose they are taking me into the brush. There they, the elders, preached to me. I was not the least bit frightened when, after this, they prepared to shoot me with the sacred shell. Indeed, I was not the least bit worried about it, nor did I think to myself, "I wonder how it is going to be!" Then those who already belonged to the medicine dance, those whom I had dreamed of all this time, shot me. When they shot me I didn't die. That thought was in my mind; but when they shot me, as a matter of fact, I didn't even lose consciousness. Almost immediately I knew how to do it (i. e., to shoot). They liked it very much. Everything they told me to do I did immediately, nor was I backward about anything. The shaman liked it. Never had anyone learned as quickly as I had, they were saying. "That augurs well for him," they say. I thought then that the medicine dance was true.

When we returned from the brush I entered the lodge. Not in any direction did I look, not once did I speak, not once did I move around, not once did I change my position. Just as they told me

159 he never did it over again. *Herecgunina* lived on earth from that
756 time on, and it is said that he also created things. Indeed, it is said
881 that he was almost the equal of the Earthmaker. He made the people
868 very miserable. Then Earthmaker sent four of his sons (to save the
773 people). Hare alone, of all the four, accomplished what he had been
sent out for. All the rest failed. Hare obtained life for the people upon this earth.

Then the man told how the medicine lodge had been founded: how all the spirits upon the earth and all those under the earth and all those above the earth gathered together. They brought life with them. Then the medicine bags began to come. First came the eagle. He came from above. Next came the hawk, and then the squirrel, etc. The otter was the last one. Then the old man stopped talking to me and another person began to admonish me. He told me how I was to conduct myself. Then he spoke to me of the medicine-lodge road (i. e., of life) and what happens after life.

159 The first thing that I would meet on the road would be bad birds
756 making a lot of noise. "Do not look at them," he told me. They
868 would let fly at me bad-smelling saliva and phlegm, but I was not
to turn around, he said. Then the road would become thickly covered
775 with thorn bushes. It would seem almost impossible to untangle them. I was, however, not to pay any attention to them, he told me. On the road, fires would send their sparks toward me, but I was to pay no attention to them. After a while I would lose one of my relatives, but I was to keep right on. I was not to get angry nor to give up, and after a while the road would become thickly covered with poplars growing on each side. Then the hair on my temples would become gray. This is what would happen to me, he told me, if I paid close attention to this ceremony. After a while it would become foggy—i. e., my eyesight would grow dim. Then I would come to a hill, one of four hills. When I came to the last hill there I would see red cedar trees. This is what would happen to me if I paid close attention to this ceremony, he told me. My soul would return to Earthmaker and I would then be allowed to come back to this earth if I wanted to.

159 Then they gave me the object with which they shoot themselves—
756 the shell. They shot me. After that they made me try to do it,
● 796 and when I was able to shoot well, we all came back. It was now
881 daylight. Now they put clothes on themselves and arose. Those who were initiating me then spread upon the ground the things which had been brought. Then the leader spoke. He told me that he would put me on the medicine-dance road. Then they sat me down there and shot me. Then the clothes that I had on were taken off and I was given other clothes. I was now told that I was standing on the medicine-dance road. After that they danced all day. In the evening they stopped. Now this is what I did; this is all I can say. I greet you, my friends.

CHAPTER XV

MISCELLANEOUS DANCES

THE HOK'IXE'RE DANCE

Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan: This is the way in 727 which people used to bring scalps to one another. When a man returns from the warpath with a scalp he leaves it outside of the village and the warriors run out with their clubs and strike it and [555] count coup (just as on the battlefield). As they count coup they call out their names. Then they are told what ceremonial dress they are to wear. They then send a messenger to the person to whom the scalp is to be presented to tell him to select a pole (for the victory dance). He thanks them and says, "It is good." Then the warriors who are returning arrange themselves in a circle around this pole and dance around it. He who has obtained the first war honor leads.

The one to whom they present the scalp thanks the spirits who [782] are in control of war powers and then raising his hand prays to the Sun. Then he sings a song and when that is finished sits down, beats the drum, and sings a dancing song, while the others dance.

Then the owner of the scalp, turning toward the spirits who are in control of war, gives the victory whoop four times. After each whoop all the other people in the lodge strike their mouths with [201] their hands and yell. After the victory whoops have been given all dance the victory dance.

Then the man who has received the scalp lets his sisters, his aunts, and his nieces select the war presents which are always bestowed [431] upon them. With these tied around their necks they dance. Toward evening they finish the victory dance and then all enter the (dancing) lodge. He to whom the scalp is given is the host and he sits down first. Then comes the donor and then in a row the four who have counted coup.

The ceremony begins with songs sung by the host. He first sings 727 two war-bundle songs (*waruxa'p naⁿwaⁿ*) and then two night songs 796 (*haⁿhe' naⁿwaⁿ*). When these are finished the meal is eaten. Before eating, all the animal heads are placed in front of the donor of the scalp and he selects those men with whom he wishes to share them.

Then the host rises and says, "War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you all. Our warrior (the donor) will eat together with

727 our grandfather, the scalp, who is standing in the center of the lodge.
796 Place a plate for the scalp and bring it to that brave man." Then
the brave warriors eat the head, and when that is finished the servants distribute meat and food to those present who have not taken
part in the head eating. While they are eating the host blows on
[534] his flute and sings some songs until the eating is over. Then he
rises and speaks again:

727 "All you who are present to give us counsel and who sit here in
796 the place of others, I greet you. For the warriors who would counsel
537 with us repeatedly and for the sacred speeches of our fathers do we
ask. In this ceremony to-day we will select as many war-bundle owners as are present to eat together with our grandfather, who is standing in the center of our lodge (the scalp). And if they select me to eat with the scalp, poor and pitiable as I am, it would be good.

"Should sickness suddenly come upon a village all those who are sick may take part in this ceremony. For our grandfather, who stands in the middle of the lodge, is no weakling, and when they take hold of him they are obtaining supernatural powers, it is said. We are trying to trample upon the soul (*wanayxi'rak*) (of the scalp). If we trample upon it, all the goods of life that were still coming to him when he was killed will be transferred to us. As many as are going to take part in this dance to-night should try to make the soul of our grandfather (the scalp) more amenable to our prayers. So all you women and men see to it that you dance with all your strength. Do not take this matter lightly, for we obtain life thereby, we were told.

"Councilors of the different clans who are seated here with us, I greet you all."

727 Then they sang *hok'ixe're* songs and danced the *hok'ixe're* dance.
796 All night they danced. They did not stop for a moment. Thus they
tried to conquer the soul of their grandfather (scalp). They danced till early in the morning and then just as the sun appeared they carried the drum outside of the lodge to the victory post and danced the victory dance. As soon as the sun was high in the heavens they stopped. Then they went to sleep.

The second day.—Just before the sun was setting they all came and danced the victory dance again. Then the host got ready to furnish the meal again. All his female relatives who had received presents took charge of the preparation of the food, which the servants had previously obtained. As soon as the victory dance was over they entered the dancing lodge. Then the host spoke, and when he finished he sang four songs, and as soon as these were finished they all got ready to eat. Then the host said that he would give the heads of the animals to the donor and that the latter might select those warriors whom he wished to have as partners in the

head eating. Then the donor selected his partners. The host then 727
began to sing. The scalp was taken down from the post and placed 796
in a dish near the door. The soul of the scalp still remained within
it, so they tried again to make it less powerful and to conquer it, [774]
for they knew that if they succeeded in conquering it all the life that was still coming to the possessor of the scalp at his death would be obtained for themselves. Then the dancers and the feasters, indeed all who had counted coup, tried to obtain some of the dead enemy's residuary life. All tried to add some new life to their own.

When the meal was over, then the host offered tobacco to the [782]
spirits, and all those present prayed for war to the spirits to whom offerings had been made. They asked that if it be their good fortune to kill a number of people on the warpath, when they returned home they would be as thankful as they are now. All these warriors who were taking part in this dance liked it very much.

Then the host struck the drum that had been placed in front of him and sang. When he finished, he had the drum placed in front of the man who had counted first coup. Then this man sang and the drum was passed to the next man, and so on until each man had sung. After all had sung and spoken the men and women together danced around the lodge. The woman who had received the presents led the dance, carrying the scalp. The people believed that the scalp was dancing with them. All night they danced the *hok'ixe're* dance without resting at any time, and when the sun appeared they took the drum outside to the post and danced the victory dance. Then when the sun was high in the heavens they stopped and went to sleep. In the evening when the sun was low they danced the victory dance again, and then when it was pretty dark, singing slow songs, they slowly entered the lodge again. Then they made a circuit of the lodge and placed the drum in the middle of the lodge.

The feast was now ready. All that they were to eat—deer, bear, [263]
dog—were placed in front of the feasters. Food was brought to the donor and all those who were sitting together with him, as well as all those who had counted coup and all the women who had
received presents. Head eating is holy, and if one eats part of the [264]
head it is thought that it will help him greatly.

Then the host rose and spoke as follows:

"The servants who are carrying the food around here will probably not have enough to go around, but you must remember that not the men but the women are furnishing the food. Although it is little, I hope you will eat it. We will now sing four songs." Then he sang two war-bundle songs and two night songs. Before they ate the host rose and spoke, "This is a small feast and we will try to give food to our grandfather (some spirit) who is in charge of this

727 ●776 ceremony. All who are going to partake in the head eating will sit together with the donor. A warrior will eat together with the scalp. This is all I have to say."

Then the feasters who were selected to take part in the head eating went toward the warrior and ate with him. This warrior (the donor) held a long stick in his hands with which he danced, after he had partaken of the head together with his friends. After he had finished dancing, he walked to the center of the lodge and stuck the stick in the ground and (sat there), eating alone with the scalp. Then all the feasters ate again, and when they were finished the host sang a number of songs and passed (the drum) to the donor, who sang whatever songs he desired; either war-bundle songs, night songs, buffalo songs, or sore-eye dance songs. When the songs were over, all danced. Then the drum was passed to the one who had counted coup first and he spoke as follows:

"The spirits blessed our grandfather and taught him many speeches for this occasion. Those we will try to repeat to-day. Even if we do not repeat them correctly, the Night Spirits will not take such a mistake amiss, we were told. Indeed, if I only know one thing (a song or a speech) they would bless me. We wish to trample upon the soul of our friend (the scalp) and if you, my friends, do the same and repeat the holy speeches of your grandfathers, we will surely accomplish our purpose. Life we wish to obtain, so let us start our songs. That is what I wanted to tell you. Now let us beat the drum and sing. I greet you all."

Then the drum and tobacco were taken to the one who had counted coup second. He spoke as follows:

"The songs and speeches that my grandfather used, those I, too, will use. I, too, desire to trample upon the soul of our friend (the scalp). Life I desire, and I will therefore start up some songs. I can not do what my ancestors did, but I will do the little I know. I greet you all."

Then the drum and tobacco were passed to the one who had counted coup third, and he spoke as follows:

"What our grandfather said, that I am trying to say now. I do not know any songs or speeches, however. I did not listen to what my parents told me, so now when I might have asked the spirits for many things, I can not do it. I do not know what to say and my eyes fill with tears at my discomfiture. But I have myself to blame for it. Now I will start up some songs. I greet you all."

Then they brought the drum to the one who had been fourth to count coup and placed tobacco in his hands. Then he spoke as follows:

"It is good. Those in the east have given me tobacco and I will now offer it to the spirits in their behalf. You have helped to trample upon the soul of our friend (the scalp) and you have tried to gain 727 additional life. I also desire life. Our ancestors were equal to the 776 spirits in their power and they asked each other to help one another in obtaining life. I will try to ask for that which you have asked. I greet you all."

Then all the war-bundle owners in the lodge greeted each other, and the drum was passed around until every one in the lodge had sung. Then they danced the *hok'ize're* dance until early dawn and when the sun was about to appear they took the drum to the post and danced the victory dance until the sun was high in the heavens. Then they went to sleep. All day they slept, and toward evening of the fourth night, when the sun was low, they began the victory dance again. When it was dark they entered the lodge and placed the drum in the center. Then the attendants put dog meat in the [262] kettles. When all was in readiness and all the feasters had entered the lodge the host offered tobacco to the spirits for whom food was being prepared and spoke as follows:

"After we have sung four songs the meal will be ready to be served. The attendants, it is true, have not cooked very much and it will doubtless not be enough for all, but I think that there will be a little portion for every one. When I have finished the four songs, then the donor for whom this ceremony is being given will select the people who are to eat with him. Then the attendants will distribute the portions of meat, in addition to the heads, and then we will all start to eat."

Then all ate. The donor after first eating with his friends ate alone with the scalp. Then some of the men arose and gave thanks. Finally the host rose again and said, "Whatever little it was in my power to do, I tried to do. All have tried to help me. It is really good. I am really unable to say what I wanted, but it is good. As the drum passes around, may it be of some help to every one."

Then the drum is passed to the one who had first counted coup. He sings and then it is passed to the other three who counted coup, who likewise sing. From them it is passed to all the other people in the lodge who have not sung yet. Then all dance the *hok'ize're* dance and toward dawn the drum is taken outside to the post and the victory dance is given. If the donor had lost a child the others [765] now wipe off his tears and tell him not to cry any more; and they make the mourner feel joyful again. When it became (full) daylight they danced the victory dance and walked four times around the pole. Then they went to the grave of the child that had died and danced the victory dance there and stuck the scalp in the ground, for the soul of the child. There it would wither and the father would feel happy. This is the end.

THE SOLDIER'S DANCE

796
614
Informant, member of the Bear or Soldier clan:[34] The object of performing the soldier dance (fig. 37) is to strengthen the members of the Bear clan. They dance with the emblem of the Bear clan, the whittled stick (*namaŋxĭ'nixini*), in their hands. The dance is also given whenever a council in which tribal affairs are discussed is held. On such an occasion the men take their drums to the council lodge and dance there, followed by the women.

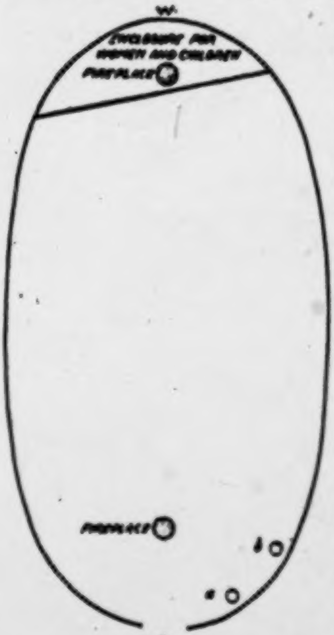

FIG. 37.—Plan of Soldiers' dance. a, Leader. b, Assistant.

The principal leader—i. e., the chief of the Bear clan (*ma'nanp'e hŭ'ŋgera*)—appoints a person who is in charge of the ceremony (*ma'nanp'e hak'o'hiduk'ŏno'na*).

The ceremony begins with the chief of the clan marching around the village with some followers and stopping here and there to dance and give the soldier whoop. The members of the Bear clan are supposed to be strengthened by the blessings of all the animals who have claws. Should anyone be sick in the village, this strength of theirs would be sufficient to cure them. Then they return to their lodge and are put in control of the entire village.

[illegible] soon as the time for the dance is at hand the soldiers give their w[illegible]nd an old warrior is selected to tell of his war exploits. He always makes it a point to tell of some exploit that seemed at first foolhardy—how he tried to do something that generally meant death, but how he succeeded by reason of his fearlessness. It is with such a heart, he tells them, that they must dance the soldier's dance. Then they all dance and sing. When they are finished, they let the women dance.

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[34] Throughout this work soldier is used to connote something quite different from the word warrior. The Soldier clan is the Bear clan, and the Warrior clan is the Hawk or the War-people clan.

The soldier dance is a hop up and down with both feet and in no 796
particular order, anywhere around the singers. It is held in the 614
open air. [535]

SOLDIER DANCE SONGS

I

Manaⁿp'e'ra naⁿjiⁿwinĕ. 796
Soldiers get up. 614

II

Wajaⁿnijaⁿ tcexigi'ji naⁿjiⁿ'aⁿdjĕ. 533
Something difficult get ready. 539
(I. e., whenever there is anything difficult to do you must get ready.)

III

Manaⁿp'e'ra neewine'naⁿ hu'nagiredra.
Soldiers I am he whom they spoke of.

IV

Manaⁿp'e'ra hi'jaⁿ wine'naⁿ.
Soldier one I am.
(I. e., I am a soldier, and if there is anything to do I'll do it.)

CEREMONY OF UANGERU

(BEGGING CEREMONY)

A dummy is made of grass and dressed with whatever objects the 735 maker wants to get. If he wants a horse he puts a bridle crosswise [532] around the body of the dummy; if he wants clothes, he dresses him up in Indian clothes. Then the man places this dummy anywhere near a gathering, or where he expects a gathering to take place. He sits near it. As soon as any warrior sees the dummy he goes over to it and either kicks or strikes the man who made it, giving him at the same time one of the objects he wanted. Any person may do the same. They may not stop kicking the man until some warrior who had at some time or another cut up an enemy in war cuts up the dummy. Then all stop, and as soon as his bruises permitted him, the man would get up and pick up the gifts brought to him.

FEAST TO BUFFALO TAIL

A grandfather of mine called Cokeboka fasted at Necedah, Wis. 787 There he was blessed by a young buffalo bull calf belonging to a herd. The calf said, as the herd went by, "Father, keep going in the road; mother, keep going in the road." He meant a warpath instead of the road they were going in. The man was to go on a warpath, from which he would return victorious.

They used to make offerings to this tail alone, apart from the war [782 bundle. The braided grass was to be used for smoking. The feast 778] is given in spring after the grass grows up, and in midwinter. Ground 527 corn is boiled in making the feast.

KIKRE WACI AND TCEBOKONAⁿK DANCES

There is a pleasure dance called *kikre waci* and a dance called 535 *tcebokonaⁿk* (wearing buffalo headdresses). The latter is of Sioux 177 origin.

CHAPTER XVI

THE PEYOTE CULT

General Description

794 Owing to the great importance of one of the modern cults found among the Winnebago, the so-called Mescal or Peyote, it will be discussed here in some detail. Not only is this cult of great prominence in the life of the modern Winnebago, but as its inception and progress can be followed out in considerable detail it is of great significance for the study of their religion.

[346] The ceremony is generally held in a building called by the Peyote worshipers a church, although it frequently takes place in the open also. In the early days of its organization as many meetings as possible were held. In 1910 there was a tendency to restrict the number and to have them generally take place on Saturday night. In 1913, after the first enthusiasm of the new converts had died out, the author was informed that the meetings were rarely held more than once a week. Around Christmas and beginning with July a series of meetings was held, lasting from a week to 10 days, as a rule. The Christmas meetings were not prominent in 1910, but the July ones seem to have been held from the beginning. They represent, of course, merely a substitution for the older pagan ceremonies and games that were held about that time.

796 In the early days the ceremony was opened by a prayer from the
794 founder, and this was followed by an introductory speech. There-
[533] upon the leader sang a Peyote song, to the accompaniment of a drum. Then another speech was delivered, and when it was finished the drum and other regalia were passed to the man to the right. This man, in turn, delivered a speech and sang a song, and when he was finished, passed the regalia to the third man, who subsequently passed it to the fourth one. The fourth man, when he was finished, returned it to the leader. In this way the regalia passed from one person to another throughout the night. It not infrequently happens that one of these four gets tired and gives up his place temporarily to some other member of the cult. At intervals they stopped to eat
[276] or drink peyote. At about midnight the peyote, as a rule, begins to affect some people. These generally arise and deliver self-accusatory
[583] speeches, and make more or less formal confessions, after which they go around shaking hands with everyone and asking forgiveness.

In 1910 the cult already had a rather definite organization. There 794
was, at every performance, one leader (pl. 54, *a*) and four principal
participants. John Rave (pls. 5, *b*; 55, *b*), the Winnebago who intro-
duced the peyote, was always the leader whenever he was present.
On other occasions leadership devolved upon some older member. The
four other principal participants changed from meeting to meeting,
although there was a tendency to ask certain individuals whenever it
was possible. The ritualistic unit, in short, is a very definite one, con- [796] ●
sisting of a number of speeches and songs and in the passing of the
regalia from one to the other of the four participants.

During the early hours of the evening, before the peyote has begun
to have any appreciable effect, a number of apparently intrusive
features are found. These, for the most part, consist of speeches by [276]
people in the audience and the reading and explanation of parts of
the Bible. After the peyote has begun to have an appreciable effect,
however, the ceremony consists exclusively of a repetition of the [783]
ritualistic unit and confessions.

There is an initiation consisting of a baptism, always performed
by John Rave. It is of a very simple nature. Rave dips his fingers
in a peyote infusion and then passes them over the forehead of the [788]
new member, muttering at the same time the following prayer:

"God, his holiness."

This is what the Winnebago words mean, although some of the
younger members who have been strongly permeated with Christian [777]
teachings translate the prayer into, "God, the Son, and the Holy
Ghost."

Whenever the ceremony is performed in the open a fireplace in 794
the shape of a horseshoe is made. At one end of this fireplace is 788
placed a very small mound of earth, called by Rave "Mount Sinai,"
and in front of this a cross is traced in the earth. Upon the small
earth mound are placed the two "chief" peyote, the Bible and the
staff. The latter, called by Rave the shepherd's crook, is always
covered with beadwork, and generally has a number of evenly cut
tufts of deer hair on the end and at intervals along its length. The
sacred peyote, known as *hunka* (i. e., "chief") are exceptionally
large and beautiful specimens. They are regarded by a number of
people, certainly by Rave, with undisguised veneration.

In addition to the above, there is found a large eagle feather fan,
a small drum, and a peculiar small type of rattle. To my knowledge,
this type was unknown among the Winnebago before its introduction
by the peyote eaters.

JOHN RAVE'S ACCOUNT OF THE PEYOTE CULT AND OF HIS CONVERSION 159

During 1893-94 I was in Oklahoma with peyote eaters. 794

In the middle of the night we were to eat peyote. We ate it and 276
I also did. It was the middle of the night when I got frightened, for 786

Now
159 I know that it was because the evil spirit possessed me that I felt that
755 way. I was suffering from a disease. I even desired to kill myself;
794 I did not care to live. That feeling, too, was caused by this evil
276 spirit living within me. Then I ate this medicine and everything
[753] changed. The brother and sister I wanted to kill before I became
attached to and I wanted them to live. The medicine had accomplished this.

O. L.'s Description of the Peyote Cult

(Pl. 33, a)

159 John Rave belongs to the Bear clan, the members of which had
614 the functions of what might be called sergeants-at-arms. He and
[692 his ancestors used to be in charge of the *manupeki* (i. e., the ser-
681] geants-at-arms lodge), to which all malefactors would be brought for
punishment.

159 Rave, although he belonged to this highly respected class of people,
794 was a bad man. He roamed from place to place. He has participated
in all the ceremonies of the Winnebago, the medicine dance alone
excepted. He had been married many times. Up to 1901 he was
a heavy drinker. In that year he went to Oklahoma and while
there ate the peyote. He then returned to the Winnebago and tried
to introduce it among them, but none with the exception of a few
[177] relatives would have anything to do with it. This did not in any
way discourage him, however, and he continued using the peyote,
now and then getting a few converts.

159 There was not very much religion connected with it in the beginning
794 and the reason people drank it was on account of the peculiar effects
177 it had upon them. Nevertheless these Peyote people preached good things and gradually lost all desire for intoxicating drinks or for participating in the old Winnebago ceremonies. Then Rave began to do away with the old Indian customs. About four or five years ago the membership in the Peyote religion began to increase, for many people now noticed that those connected with the Peyote cult were the only people in the tribe leading a Christian life.

At this time the Bible was introduced by a young man named Albert Hensley (pls. 8, *d*; 9, *d*). He, too, had been a bad person, although he had been educated at Carlisle. Like Rave, he was a heavy drinker and fond of wandering.

During the last few years our members have increased so fast that now almost half the tribe belong to our religion. We all make efforts to lead a Christian life and we are succeeding very well.

794 We use the New Testament, especially the Revelations.

● 796 Our meetings take place at any time. We gather together in the
159 evening, and as soon as everything is in readiness the leader arises
[762] and offers a prayer called, "Turning themselves over to the care of
the Trinity."

the Trinity." Then all sit down and the leader makes the regular 794
announcements. The peyote is then passed around, either in the dry 796 ●
condition or steeped. The leader thereupon starts the singing. 159
These are some of the songs: [276]

1. Ask God for life and he will give it to us.
2. God created us so pray to him. [533]
3. To the home of Jesus we are going, so pray to him.
4. Come ye to the road of the Son of God; come ye to the road.

Then Albert Hensley calls upon 12 educated members to translate 794
and interpret certain portions of the Bible for the nonreading mem- 177
bers. He arranges with the leader to have the singing stop at cer- 796
tain places so that some of these young men can speak. When these
are finished, other individuals are called upon to give testimony. 159
Hensley always talks and so does Rave.

John Rave baptizes by dipping his hand in a diluted infusion of peyote and rubbing it across the forehead of a new member, saying, "I baptize thee in the name of God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, [798] which is called God's Holiness."

The peyote eaters wanted to get baptized and unite with the church in Winnebago, but the clergyman in charge would not permit them, so they went and did their own baptizing through their leader, John Rave, who, though he is not educated, is full of real intelligence and religion.

If a person who is truly repentant eats peyote for the first time, 794
he does not suffer at all from its effects. But if an individual is 276
bullheaded, does not believe in its virtue, he is likely to suffer a good 159
deal. This I know from my own experience. After eating peyote I grasped the meaning of the Bible, which before had been meaningless to me.

If a person eats peyote and does not repent openly, he has a guilty [783] conscience, which leaves him as soon as the public repentance has been made.

Old men and women who had been brought up to worship animals and all kinds of spirits have cast them all away and in many instances burned their idols, not because they were told to do so but because they felt that way.

Whenever at our meetings a person wishes to pray, he does so; when he wishes to cry, he does so. Indeed, we show no timidity about worshiping God in the right way. In the Bible one often reads of Christ casting out the devils and of the people shouting, etc. So does the peyote act on us in the beginning, although afterwards its effects abate.

If a peyote eater relapses into his old way of living, then the peyote causes him great suffering.

At first our meetings were started without any rule laid down by [177]
the Bible, but afterwards we found a very good reason for holding

Therefore I sat inside the meeting place with them. One man 159
acted as leader. We were to do whatever he ordered. The regalia 794
were placed before him. I wanted to sit in some place on the side 276
because I thought I might get to crying like the others. I felt 796
ashamed of myself.

Then the leader arose and talked. He said that this was an affair of Earthmaker's (God's), and that he (the leader) could do nothing on his own initiative; that Earthmaker (God) was going to conduct the ceremony. Then he said that the medicine (peyote) was holy and that he would turn us all over to it; that he had turned himself over to it and wished now to turn all of us over to it. He said further, "I am a very pitiable (figure) in this ceremony, so when you pray to Earthmaker, pray also for me. Now let us all rise and pray to Earthmaker (God)." We all rose. Then he prayed. He prayed for the [782] sick, and he prayed for those who did not yet know Earthmaker. He said that they were to be pitied. When he had finished we sat down. Then the peyote was passed around. They gave me five. My brother-in-law said to me, "If you speak to this medicine (peyote), it will give you whatever you ask of it. Then you must pray to Earthmaker, and then you must eat the medicine." Hovewer, I ate them (the peyote) immediately, for I did not know what to ask for and I did not know what to say in a prayer to Earthmaker (God). So I ate the peyote just as they were. They were very bitter and had a taste difficult to describe. I wondered what would happen to me. After a while I was given five more and I also ate them. They tasted rather bitter. Now I was very quiet. The peyote rather weakened me. Then I listened very attentively to the singing. I liked it very much. I felt as though I were partly asleep. I felt different from (my normal self), but when I (looked around) and examined myself, I saw nothing wrong about myself. However, I felt different from (my normal self). Before this I used to dislike the songs. Now I liked the leader's singing very much. I liked to listen to him.

They were all sitting very quietly. They were doing nothing except singing. Each man sang four songs and then passed the regalia to the next one. (Each one) held a stick and an eagle's tail feather in one hand and a small gourd rattle, which they used to shake while singing, in the other. One of (those) present used to do the drumming. Thus objects would pass around until they came back to the leader, who would then sing four songs. When these were finished, he would place the various (things) on the ground, rise, and pray to Earthmaker (God). Then he called upon one or two to speak. They said that Earthmaker (God) was good and that the peyote was good, and that whosoever ate this medicine (peyote) would be able to free himself from the bad spirit (the devil); for they said that

159 Earthmaker forbids us to commit sins. When this was over they
774 sang again.

● 796 After midnight, every once in a while (I heard) someone cry. In
276 some cases they would go up to the leader and talk with him. He would stand up and pray with them. They told me what they were saying. They said that they were asking (people) to pray for them, as they were sorry for their sins and that they might be prevented from committing them again. That is what they were saying. They cried very loudly. I was rather frightened. (I noticed also) that when I closed my eyes and sat still, I began to see strange things. I did not get sleepy in the least. Thus the light (of morning) came upon me. In the morning, as the sun rose, they stopped. They all got up and prayed to Earthmaker (God) and then they stopped.

159 During the daytime I did not get sleepy in the least. My actions
276 were a little different (from my usual ones). Then they said, "To-night they are going to have another meeting. Let us go over.
794 They say that is the best (thing) to do and thus you can learn it (the ceremony) right away. It is said that their spirits wander
[774] over all the earth and the heavens also. All this you will learn and see," they said. "At times they die and remain dead all night and all day. When in this condition they sometimes see Earthmaker (God); it is said." One would also be able to see where the bad spirit lived, it was said.

So we went there again. I doubted all this. I thought that what they were saying was untrue. However, I went along anyhow. When we got there, I had already eaten some peyote, for I had taken three during the day. Now near the peyote meeting an (Indian) feast was being given and I went there instead. When I reached the place, I saw a long lodge. The noise was terrific. They were beating an enormous drum. The sound almost raised me in the air, so (pleasurably) loud did it sound to me. Not so (pleasurable) had things appeared at those affairs (peyote meetings) that I had lately been attending. There I danced all night and I flirted with the women. About day I left and when I got back the peyote meeting was still going on. When I got back they told me to sit down at a certain place. They treated me very kindly. There I again ate peyote. I heard that they were going to have another meeting near by on the evening of the same day. We continued eating peyote the whole day at the place where we were staying. We were staying at the house of one of my relatives. Some of the boys there taught me a few songs. "Say, when you learn how to sing, you will be the best singer, for you are a good singer as it is. You have a good voice," they said to me. I thought so myself.

JESSE CLAY'S ACCOUNT OF THE ARAPAHO MANNER OF GIVING THE PEYOTE CEREMONY WHICH HE INTRODUCED AMONG THE WINNEBAGO IN 1912 159

I went to Oklahoma once as the guest of an Arapaho Indian. 648
While there I witnessed the Arapaho manner of holding a peyote 177
meeting and was very much impressed with it. A year later this 794
Arapaho came to visit me in Winnebago, and while he was with us
a few of my friends urged me to hold the peyote ceremony according
to the Arapaho method. I held several meetings at which my
Arapaho friend led.

Now these are the instructions that Arapaho Bull gave me.

The person giving the ceremony must get up at sunrise so that 794
he can tell exactly where the sun is going to rise. He must place a 177
stick and make the drawing of a cross on the earth just in that 796
direction from which the sun is about to rise. He does this in order
to get the correct location for the tipi and the fireplace. Then he
marks a circle around the cross. Then he makes a diagonal mark
through the center of the circle, thus making the circle resemble a
star. The circle is the outline of the tipi. Then another diagonal
mark is made so that the drawing resembles, to their minds, a peyote.
A fireplace which resembles a half-moon is placed right in
the center of the lodge. After that the tipi poles are raised, 12 in
number. Finally the whole is inclosed in canvas. When finished
it is supposed to represent the earth. It is then ready to be
entered. Special preparations are made for entering. The drummer
with his drum and the leader and those behind him with
all their regalia march up to the door. Before these enter, however,
an attendant, called the fireman, spreads sage all over the
lodge, from the seat of the leader to the door and back again. Then
he starts a fire, always placing the left fire sticks first. When they
are all thus lined up outside of the door the leader offers a prayer.

"May the Creator be with us when we enter this lodge."

The leader now enters and, proceeding along the left side of the 794
lodge, marches to his seat, and there he stands with his drum until 796
the lodge is filled. After all have entered they sit down. Then the 276
fireman who sits to the right rekindles the fire. The leader now
spreads out his articles—a gourd, a drumstick, a staff, and the 177
feathers. He then takes 12 sage leaves and lays them out in the
form of a star, first making a cross-shaped object and then filling
this into the desired form. On top he places the peyote, and, leaning
against that, he places a flute made of an eagle bone, the mouth of
the flute resting against the peyote. Then he puts an otter-skin cap
at the foot of the flute. After a while the leader takes the peyote
he is going to use in one hand and some cedar needles in the other,

794 and, going to his seat, where all the other objects are spread out, he
796 sits down and prays. He prays that all the participants may be
strengthened by the prospective meeting. He offers up thanks for
276 the peyote and prays that all may be in the proper spirit that night.
177 Then he throws the needles in the fire and holds the peyote over
the smoke of the cedar. When this has been finished he returns to
his seat, eats one peyote, and gives one to the drummer. After
they have eaten these he passes four peyote in turn to those on his
left until the peyote comes to the one sitting nearest the door. Four
peyote are given to the one nearest the door that he, in turn, may
pass them to those on the other side of the door and so on until the
leader is reached again. Before the peyote is eaten, the leader gets
up and talks. He instructs the people as to the nature of the meeting
and tells them that those who wish to go out must do so after the
midnight water is drunk and not until after the leader returns from
outside. No one is to go out while anyone is singing, praying, or
eating peyote. He then speaks of the special prayers that are to be
offered up and asks them to offer general prayers for all nonmembers
and even for their enemies. After that the leader again offers up a
prayer and smokes all the objects he had spread before his seat.
Then the songs are to start, all, however, first eating peyote.

(When the fire first starts and thereafter, throughout the night, it
is supposed to represent light, just as God said, "Let there be light.")

[533] The first song is always the same and is called the starting song.
Those that follow are peyote songs. When he has finished these
songs he passes the singing staff to the right of the drummer. When
this one has finished the staff is returned to the leader, who passes it
on to the left, and then in rotation it goes to the one sitting near
the door. The drum, when it is handed on, is always passed under
the staff. The fire is always replenished, but toward midnight
special care is taken in this regard and the coals are placed in the
shape of a crescent between the fire and the earth crescent, and the
fireman sweeps first around the left and then around the right side.
Then exactly at midnight the leader calls for his singing staff and
his drum, no matter where they happen to be, and, taking the singing
[533] staff and sending the drum to the drummer, he blows his flute and
sings. The song he sings then is called the midnight song. After
that three peyote songs are sung, it making no difference which they
are. As the leader starts his midnight song the fireman takes up
his position at the doorway opposite the fireplace and the leader.
When the second song is started the fireman turns around to the
right and goes out and gets water and soon comes back with it.
[788] When he reenters he makes the figure of a cross on the ground where
he stood just before he left and places water on it. Then he squats
down on his knees.

When the leader stops singing he walks to the crescent by the 794
fireplace and begins praying again. After the prayer he burns some 796
more cedar needles. The reason for drinking water at midnight is 177
because Christ was born at midnight and because of the good tidings that he brought to the earth, for water is one of the best things in life and Christ is the savior of mankind. After the leader has made his prayer and the cedar is burned, then the fireman reaches over toward the smoke and makes a motion with his body as if he were drawing the smoke over himself. He then takes the water and brings it over to the leader. The leader takes a bunch of feathers and, dipping it into the water, sprinkles it on the peyote, then on the fire, on the sage, and finally all over the lodge, beginning with the doorway and then going around. The water is then drunk in a regular order, first by the leader, then by the drummer, and then by all the other people. After all these things have been done the leader returns the staff to the man from whom he had taken it at midnight. As soon as this man starts the singing again the leader takes his flute and goes outside. He goes toward the east for a short distance, and there he sits down and offers up a prayer for the people. Then he blows his flute, and going to the south of the lodge repeats the same procedure. This is also repeated for the west and the north. When the singing within the lodge has stopped, he returns and takes his seat.

The purpose of going to the four directions and blowing the flute is to announce the birth of Christ to all the world.

After the leader has reentered the singing continues as before. At daybreak the fireman fixes the fire in the same way as at midnight. The staff, drum, etc., is now passed to the leader, who as soon as he has received everything takes his flute and blows on it. Before doing this, however, he puts on his otter-skin cap. The purpose of blowing the flute just at that time is to represent the trumpet of the Day of Judgment, when Christ will appear wearing His crown in all glory. The putting on of the otter-skin cap represents the crown.

The song used on this occasion is called the water song. After [533]
the first song is finished the fireman opens the door and a woman enters carrying water, which she pours over the cross which the fireman had sprinkled at midnight. The fireman then spreads something for her to sit on, between the water and the door.

When the leader has finished his four songs, he lays down his staff, etc., and, taking some cedar needles, offers up a prayer of thanks, and as he finishes he throws the cedar into the fire and sits down while the woman gathers the smoke toward her in the same way as the fireman had done on the previous night. Then the leader takes a drinking cup and sends it toward the woman. The

794 fireman now rises and pours water on the impressions he had made
796 when drawing the cross on the earth, and the woman drinks some
177 water from the cup, which she then returns to the leader. The water
is then returned to her and she passes it around the lodge, beginning
at the left. When it reaches the leader again, he takes out the same
cup which he had handed to the woman and drinks out of it. The
water, however, is passed on until it reaches the door. The fireman
would then take it and bring it back to where it had been placed
when first brought in. The woman rises and goes around the fire-
place from left to right, taking the water with her. Finally the
leader takes his singing staff and sings four songs. When these
songs are finished, the woman places some food just outside the door.
The fireman goes outside and brings in this food, placing it in a line
between the fire and the door. Four things are brought in—water,
[262] corn with sweetened water, fruit, and meat. When the food is
brought in the leader puts away all the objects he had spread out
before him, which the fireman takes out of the lodge. The leader
then offers up a prayer of thanks and says grace. The four kinds of
food are passed around the lodge, beginning with the entrance, from
left to right. After they are returned they are placed in line again,
only in the reverse order from that used before. The fireman then
takes them outside. While the people are eating the door remains
open.

(During the evening the leader represents the first created man, the woman dressed up is the New Jerusalem, the bride waiting for the bridegroom. The cup used by the leader and the woman is supposed to symbolize the fact that they are to become one; the water represents the God's gift, His Holiness. The corn represents the feast to be partaken of on the Day of Judgment and the fruit represents the fruit of the tree of life. The meat represents the message of Christ and those who accept it will be saved.)[1]

794 The above descriptions represent the Peyote cult as it was given between 1908 and 1913. It is quite clear that a definite organization exists consisting of a unit of five positions occupied by the leader and four helpers. No specific requirements, with the exception, of course, of that of being a peyote eater, are associated with the right to occupy these positions.

No specialized features have become associated with the positions of the four helpers. As indicated before, John Rave is always the leader when he is present, but the position of leadership can be delegated to others. This is always of a temporary nature. It may be significant to note that whenever delegated the leadership is always delegated to men who have been among the first of the converts outside of Rave's immediate family, and who were leaders in the old

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[1] J. C.'s account ends here.

has done so well. The members of the clan have been sincerely 539x
worshiping the spirits. He who made the war-bundle ritual was 796
like a spirit in power and what he told them to do they are doing in every detail. It is a good work that they are doing. Sufficient food they are offering to those who are in control of war powers that they might easily be cognizant of it. They have placed plenty of tobacco and different offerings of buckskin within their reach. A pleasing [782]
white buckskin they have strung out and offered to you; a pleasing red feather as a hair ornament (have they also offered to you). They have offered these things, so that they might ask for war from those who are in control of war. How, indeed, would it be possible (for the spirits) not to recognize these offerings? And if they recognize them, then we who are impersonating (the spirits) will also receive the benefit of the blessings of war and life (intended for the host).

"Long ago our ancestors asked (the spirits) to bless them so that, having been blessed with life, they might live happily. Here we are (sitting around) a fireplace and the life that they (host and his band) have asked for, the spirits not only are extending to them but to every one. In the early times the old men said, 'You are not able to fast and offer up proper food to the spirits so as to clear away the weapons (held) against you.'[118] Thus they spoke to them (the younger people). Just as (the older people would have liked it) so they are doing. I, who do not amount to anything, have nevertheless been permitted to take the place of a spirit to whom food is offered. This they have done for me, (given me the place) of that very spirit who is the very bravest of them all, the one who is in control of the power whereby one can kill (an enemy) outright! One side of his body controls life and the other death. Now they are about to offer him the
food of a white animal, of a male animal (i. e., a dog), a white buckskin, [782]
feathers, and tobacco, all objects that please him very much. To Disease-giver they are about to extend these things, so that therewith they may ask him for war power and life. It is a fear-inspiring spirit that they have been making offerings to. I, who have listened to the spirits (through the host's kindness), surely don't have to say anything in their behalf."[119] They thought of their grandfather when they asked me to impersonate this spirit. Of all the spirits, his is the name that one can not speak of lightly, it is said. If I greet the name and speak about this spirit whom they have asked me to impersonate, may I not be weakened by uttering (his name). Those who are about to offer food to you, grandfather Disease-giver, send forth their greetings. To the host do I send forth my greetings. To the war-bundle owners who are seated here do I send forth my greetings."

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[118] By denying that they can do it he tries to spur the young people to redoubled efforts. The weapons are the obstacles encountered in life.

[119] I. e., this feast will speak for them, more than any words I can utter.

539x
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Then another man who has been called upon for a kettle rises as the "means of blessing" comes to him and greeting, says to them:[114]

Speech of fifth guest. "Clan councilors who are seated here, I greet you all. You all within this lodge who are impersonating the spirits, I greet you. It is good. If we say it is good, we mean it.[115] That we are living[116] is because they have done this for us (i. e., asked us to participate in the feast). That we have been able to move about so long (i. e., are still living) is due to the fact that the war-bundle owners knew how to offer tobacco to the spirits. It is for that reason likewise that we have not been killed. Expert in their preaching to the youths and maidens, our chiefs have also kept the fireplace for us two-legged walkers.[117] Our chiefs have piled more fuel upon the fire that it may start up.[118] And not for themselves are they doing this. What they are doing is to enable us to obtain life. The name of South Wind they have uttered; he who alone is in control of life. They knew that he was a great (spirit). An old man, one who was like a spirit (in his power), called Djõbenagiwi'ŋxga, they are speaking of. As many good spirits as there are, that many added their thoughts (power). Of this they are reminding the spirits whom they are worshiping. Sincerely are they saying it. The life they blessed the old man with, that life they are using. With war powers they blessed him. They did not fool him. Because they have made their requests sincerely is the reason that (the spirits) have given them these things in return. I feared that they might not take cognizance of them (i. e., their offerings). However, now I thank them (the host, etc.), for we have been as though connected with war power and life through South Wind. Tobacco they have poured for him, and white buckskin and red feathers have they extended to him. He will smoke the tobacco and we will follow in the path of life as a consequence. As though we were a member of their clan they have made us by (permitting us) to impersonate the spirits. What we have done will give us plenty of life to live on and for this we are indebted to them. We are thankful for it. Those who have been preached to, the South Wind I greet. Councilor (host), I send forth my greetings to you. You who are seated here and are impersonating the spirits, to you also do I send forth my greetings."

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[114] By "the means of blessing" he means the opportunity to speak and sing.

[115] Literally, "It is not for nothing that we say this."

[116] I. e., have been blessed with life.

[117] The reference to the fireplace is twofold here. First as host it is incumbent for the owner of the Thunderbird clan bundle to take charge of the fireplaces; and, secondly, it is his duty to do so because fire is the sacred possession of the clan. "Two-legged walkers" is the ritualistic name for human beings. [614]

[118] To be taken figuratively as meaning "blessings," since in adding fuel they are cooking the sacred food. [195]

x796 After the speeches were all over the offerings were taken down and
539 thrown outside through the opening in the roof of the lodge and then
[782] night songs were sung. Before throwing the offerings out they marched around the lodge carrying them in their hands. At the approach of dawn the drum, gourds, etc., have about made the entire circuit of the lodge, and as soon as they reach the host he begins to sing the night
[533] songs. After these he sings turtle songs, and then the songs are over. The host now calls upon some one to give the war whoop, so that the spirits in the west may hear their voices. Nanhį'tcoga gave the war whoop. All joined in, and the feast was over.

x796 *Descriptive notes on the Bear clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant,
805 member of clan: About the middle of winter, in the month called
[776] deer-breeding month, the Winnebago used to go out hunting, and they gave a feast to all the spirits who had blessed them.

They are very careful not to have the kettles boil over, because
[774] they believe that a man's soul (*naγi'rak'*) might be wandering about and is likely to come down along the chain of the kettle. If it doesn't boil over, the man is likely to conquer the possessions of this spirit (of an enemy) in the next battle.

202 The invitation sticks are sent out only to men who own a war
[554] bundle, and the clans are invited in the following fashion: First the Wolf, then the Hawk, and then any order.

778 The contents of the war bundle represent the following: The crow means strength in running. The turtle and the spear, the blessings which enable one to get out of difficulties, the former referring especially to difficulties in crossing water; they also enable their possessor to foretell when enemies are approaching and to tell an individual how many enemies he is going to conquer. The flute represents the
789 voices of musical birds. When an enemy hears them it paralyzes him and he can not run.

171 the tribal reverence is centred. Historically, we believe that
these were originally possessions of an individual clan, which
614 subsequently became identified with the entire tribe. Among
778 the Winnebago nothing in the remotest manner comparable to
these clan possessions exists, and the few specific objects possessed by the clan have never become of real tribal significance.

614 The specific material possessions of the clan consist of
certain war-bundles, one in each clan; and two crooks in the
778 possession of the Bear clan. Of more general possession are the
[616] war clubs, of which there are two types, one found among the
waŋgeregi, the other among the *mąŋegi* divisions. In connexion
[796] with the clan-bundles there are certain ceremonials known as
clan-bundle or war-bundle feasts, popularly as winter feasts.
[171] The distribution of the clan-bundle differentiates these from the
specific possessions of the Omaha clans, and suggests a hint as to
their historical associations. To all intents and purposes, as
their individual history shows, these bundles are merely gifts
from one spirit, the thunderbird, and a secondarily associated
[575] night-spirit (*hąhe*). The winter feast might thus be interpreted
as a society of those who have obtained blessings from the
thunderbird. The bundle remains in the possession of a certain
family, however, and cannot pass out of the clan. The war-bundle may, therefore, be said to be primarily the personal
possession of a family which has become associated with all the
members of the clan to such an extent that it is almost regarded
as a clan possession.

In the possession of the two crooks by the Bear clan we have
[726] an example of specific clan property. The crooks are in the
nature of emblems and are used on the warpath to indicate the
extreme line of advance. They are thus of tribal significance.
When not in use, they are kept in the lodge of the Bear clan.

Immaterial Possessions of the Clan.

Although there are no specific material possessions, each clan possesses a type of what might be called "immaterial" possessions. These all have the added connotation of sacredness. For the bird clans, this is the possession of fire; for the

614 let us say, some individual who has killed a member of the
[533] tribe and who refuses to make atonement of any kind, is pursued,
[764] he defiantly sings his clan songs.

[627] As a last element in the clan-complex may be mentioned
the specific facial decorations existing in each clan.

174 We have now completed the discussion of clan organization.
As we saw, it consisted of a large number of cultural elements
614 of the most heterogeneous historical origin. So many indications are there, indeed, of interpretations, reinterpretations, and secondary associations that it is impossible to form any correct idea of what is historically primary, except the self-evident fact that the complex has grown around a strong social-political unit.

THE CLAN AS A SOCIO-CEREMONIAL COMPLEX.

614 Up to the present our attention has been directed entirely
to the clan as a socio-political complex and only passing men-
796 tion has been made of those religious or ceremonial associations
182 that may also have clustered around it. Among the Omaha,
as we have frequently pointed out, these latter associations
[171] were of paramount importance and probably dwarfed the
development of the political functions. Among the Winnebago, on the whole, they were unimportant. This very fact makes the solitary instance in which a fairly marked development took place of all the greater value, quite apart from the fact that it happens to give, on the one hand, an exceptionally instructive illustration of the secondary association of a ceremonial function with a social unit, and, on the other, a similarly instructive illustration of the association of a function generally belonging to an individual shaman with a social unit. Such an association has taken place with the Bear clan, and, owing to its importance, we will quote the data in extenso. The ceremony is known as "soldiers' dance" (*manype waci*).

"When sickness comes upon a Winnebago village, the people
614 go to the chief and say, 'Sickness has come upon us, O chief!
755 See that your soldiers arise!' And the chief goes to the lodge
796 of the leading Bear clansman and, offering him tobacco, speaks

as follows, 'My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my 614
people have been smitten with disease.' Then the latter 755
rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and
they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of 796
males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit, they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick, they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well."

Here the Bear clan behaves at the same time like a cere- 614
monial organization associated with shamanistic practices
and like an individual shaman. That, to the minds of the Win- 796
nebago, this ceremonial function of the Bear clan on this occa- 182
sion was regarded as a real ceremony is indicated by the term *manų pe waci*. For the moment, the Bear clan as a social unit is entirely lost sight of. Nevertheless, it is the Bear clan as such a unit around which the ceremony has crystallized. This case is all the more instructive for the very reason that this ceremonial association does not form an inextricable element in the clan complex, but is merely an aspect that it assumes on certain occasions, to the exclusion of its socio-political nature. The ceremonial function of the clan is, therefore, not as firmly fixed as is the political function. This may merely be an expression of the fact that among the Winnebago it had become customary to associate ceremonial functions with religious societies.

With regard to the analogy with the individual shaman, it might be said that treating a social unit like an individual must have been quite common wherever the former was strongly marked off by specific functions such as the Bear clan. The association of the shamanistic function with this clan may have occurred just because of the police functions the clan
already possessed. On the other hand, it might be pointed [776]
out that the bear, both black and grizzly, was intimately [825]
[756]

614

● 796 182 associated with the treatment of disease and was the especial guardian spirit of the Indian doctors.

[776] INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION.

[825] [756] 174 575 614 Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, insofar as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend on the respective centre of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability from the point of view of organization. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and shamanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional complex of the latter the centre from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed, that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society, like the medicine dance, grizzly-bear dance, and night-spirit dance, no influence is perceptible. But these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive fact of Winnebago culture—there are, strictly speaking, no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in many respects are absolutely identical with the religious societies, and which furnish, it seems to us, an example [796]

of just those two kinds of influence that we wished to point 174
out, one radiating from the clan, as a unit of organization, the 575
other from the entire clan complex. 614

In the Winter feasts the unit of organization is the clan. 796
Generally all the clans were represented in the person of the owner of each specific clan war-bundle. The order of invitation was traditionally fixed, but it seems that in a number of cases the "friend" clan always had the position of honour. The war-bundle owner was not, however, supposed to represent the clan at all, but the spirits to whom offerings were being made. In every case, although the participants were supposed to impersonate a fairly large number of animals, the main blessings contained in the bundle were from the thunderbird and night-spirit and the main offerings were made to them. Indeed, there seem to be two separate ceremonies involved, one to the thunderbird and the other to the night-spirits.

The question that arises with regard to the clan basis of these ceremonial organizations is whether we are to imagine that the ceremonial unit of organization was displaced by the clan unit, or that the ceremony is of comparatively recent origin, let us say at least long after the clan organization had been perfected, and that a number of things combined to determine the acceptance of the clan as a unit of organization, as opposed to the traditional ceremonial one. To the foregoing, we must also add the fact that the Winter feast seems to be [171] related to similar ceremonies of the Central Algonkin, whose influence on the Winnebago must first be determined. If, then, we are not in a position at present to suggest the course of development, there can be no doubt that the content of the ceremony is strictly comparable to that of the religious societies, and that there are hints that the ceremonial unit of organization had begun to assert itself. If this could be definitely established, it would indicate that the clan basis of organization is historically primary.

The clan unit of organization is found in no other Winnebago ceremony, although the specific clan feasts show marked influences radiating from the clan complex. The clan feast is a typical ceremonial complex, both in type of organization

174 575 614 ●796 and in content. The difference between it and a society like the night-spirit dance lies in the fact that although the five principal participants must have specific blessings (bundles), they must at the same time belong to the clan. To what extent a member of one clan who has obtained a bundle from some other clan-spirit can take part in the specific clan feast of the latter, it is difficult to determine, but in the buffalo feast, assuming that this is unquestionably the real Buffalo clan feast, and there seems to be little doubt of it, any person who has obtained a bundle from the buffalo can participate, although the leader must always belong to the Buffalo clan. This example may be taken as an indication of the historical origin of these feasts, namely, that they are really religious societies in which the influence of the clan has restricted the number of individuals who are ordinarily supposed to occupy the five places of honour. That this restrictive influence of the clan was caused by the identity of the clan animal with the guardian spirit, there can be little doubt.

PHONETIC KEY.

104

a, as in German *Mann.*
e, as in French *été.*
ɛ, as in English *men.*
i, as in English *pique.*
ι, as in English *pin.*
o, as in English *note.*
ɔ, as in German *voll.*
u, as in English *food.*
ʋ, as in English *put.*
ə, obscure vowel like *a* of English *idea.*
˛, denotes nasalization of vowel.
ŋ, *ng* of English *sing.*
s̯, *s* pronounced with tip of tongue against upper teeth.
γ, voiced guttural spirant, g of North German *sagen.*
ʽ, denotes aspiration.
·, denotes that preceding vowel is long.
′, denotes main stress.

brothers, though they were his elders. The two older brothers made 539
up their minds to do away with Hagaga. They went into the forest 575
together and drew an image of Hagaga on the ground, painting his 756
heart with red earth. They were preparing to thrust a spear into the heart of the image and thus kill Hagaga but he was on the limb of a tree watching them and yelled at them as they were ready to strike—"Hey, what are you about to do?" They looked up, discovered him, and were so scared at their detection that they ran away without stabbing the figure. He followed them to Trempealeau Mountain where the spirits live.

This mountain is supposed by the Winnebago to be hollow and they [823]
think all the powers of the medicine lodge reside therein. In the center
of this mountain, the medicine lodge is supposed to be laid out, with 575
the cardinal points of the compass indicated by poles. The poles repre- 756
sent serpents and the tie pieces are serpents, because to the Winnebago [825]
medicine lodge members the serpent is sacred.[illegible]

The various animal deities came into the center of the lodge. They 575
were, in order of entrance, the otter, the loon, the crane, the turtle, the 756
fox, and a number of others. Nowadays when the medicine lodge cere- 796
mony is in progress, the Indians make song imitations of these various animal spirits coming into the lodge. In the main, they agree with the conception of creation held by the Menomini.[illegible] The writer related the Menomini story to Henry Dick, who said it was almost the same as the Winnebago. Their initiation ceremony starts at an earlier age which coincides with the age of puberty for both boys and girls and their medicine lodge ceremony requires more time than that of the Menomini;—four days for the lodge ceremony and two days for the testing of the initiate. While the ceremony is in progress, the candidate must not go to sleep. If he does, one of the members will shake him. The first two days and nights, the ceremony is mostly chanting and explanations, while the final two days and nights are given over to active floor work. The candidate must learn to do exactly as he is told and to obey instantly. The members, during the ceremony, tweak his ears and do various things to him in imitation of the animal deities. He is then shot with medicine bags to demonstrate their power. That is, the otter skin bag is grasped by the head between the fingers of the left hand of the medicine lodge member, and touched to his own lips; then having given it his power as a medicine man, he extends it toward the initiate, crying "Hui hui" and the initiate must drop his head immediately and fall over or backward. He is shot four times in the course of the ceremony.

On the fifth and sixth days, two or three of the older members take

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[illegible] Fred Mallory's children killed a large puffing adder a day or two previous to the relating of this story and the local Winnebago did not like it, prophesying all sorts of dire disasters that would visit them.

[illegible] See Milw. Publ. Mus. Bull., Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 14, note 2.

575 the candidate into the woods, where none will see them and put him
756 through tests, such as falling immediately when he is shot with a medi-
796 cine bag. They also teach him to sing the ritual of the medicine lodge,
being sure that no one hears.

824 The Winnebago observe the same precautions in gathering plants and place as great stress upon the manner of this gathering as do other Wisconsin Indians.

126 Most of the summer was spent among the Winnebago collecting their various economic and medicinal plants, about which copious notes were taken. On August 16, a trip was made to a Winnebago religious
123 feast given by A. White and his son, Frank, with two other relatives,
551 at which the writer was given a Winnebago name. As is the Indian custom, no more than one Indian name can be given and a name in a second language must mean the same as the original one. It happens that the first name given the writer was by the Menomini at Keshena; namely "*Onawonik*" meaning "Flying Squirrel." Hence the Ojibwe followed suit with "*Shagashkandawe*" also meaning "Flying Squirrel," and the Winnebago took their word "*Kashingra*" meaning the same.

A WINNEBAGO WAR-BUNDLE CEREMONY

By W. C. McKern*

182 The primitive religious ceremonies of the Winnebago Indians are
796 not destined long to survive. Not only is the new generation forgetting
or deliberately neglecting the traditions of the old order, due to the
[177 growing influence of encroaching white civilization, but the conversion
of many of the older members of the tribe to the Peyote faith has
276] thinned the ranks of the Medicine Lodge to a marked extent. Many
795 of those responsible for introducing this new Christian cult among the
Winnebago are still alive. Its unabated ascendency in the favor of the
Indians is proportionate to the decline of ancient religious practices.

114 However, meetings of the old order still are held, and are in some
796 measure successful, due largely to the fact that many of the Peyote

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*Associate Curator of Anthropology, Milwaukee Public Museum.

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929

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114 people attend as a matter of courtesy, or to keep peace in the family.
It was my good fortune to attend such a meeting, a war-bundle ceremony,
796 in October, 1927. Mr. A. White, whose Indian name is *Teas-teahe-de-ga*
[795 (Big Wave), figure 120, is custodian of the war-bundle
778] of the Thunderbird clan of the Wisconsin Rapids band of Winnebago.
614] Word came to me through his son-in-law, Mr. U. S. White of Milwaukee,
that a war-bundle feast would be held shortly, and that I was
specially invited to attend.

As Mr. White and his family also wished to make the trip, we drafted a Museum car into service and joined forces. In addition to Mr. White and his wife and two children, Mr. Alton Fisher was persuaded, without much difficulty, to join me in representing the Department of Anthropology.

We arrived at Wisconsin Rapids late at night, and were up early
on the following morning and on our way to the site selected for the
[574] ceremony. Upon arriving at his home, we were courteously received by
the custodian of the bundle, and privileged to meet his family and many
others who were in the midst of preparations for the feast.

796 The regular war bundle ceremony of the Thunderbird clan is a feast
and dance given in honor of various spirits, chiefly the Thunderbirds,
[776] who are the spiritual directors of war, and the Night Spirits. It is
[614] held in an oblong wigwam shaped like the medicine lodge of the Winnebago
and neighboring Algonkin groups, figure 121, and similarly constructed
[346] of a frame-work of bent poles covered with birch bark or mats,
or more recently with canvas or other cloth. Big Wave had directed the
construction of the lodge for this particular ceremony in an area immediately
adjoining his dwelling lodge, figure 122. The single door
was placed at the end of the lodge, facing east.

The lodge was small, made so to accommodate the limited number
[252] expected to attend, and consequently it was decided to cook the feast
over outside fires, an irregular, though not unusual procedure. Therefore,
only a single fire was built in the lodge, centrally situated at the
796 eastern end not more than three paces from the door. Since the fire
372 was to be new, sacred fire, the ceremonial fire-making equipment from
778 the war bundle was employed. This consisted of a flat, rectangular
base of oak, nearly perforated in many places with charred drill holes,
and a drilling element of softer wood. Big Wave himself officiated in
the fire making, figure 123. Kneeling, he placed the basepiece between
his knees, with tinder conveniently near. Then one end of the drill
was fitted into one of the holes in the base, and the shaft was rapidly
rotated between his hands. Soon smoke curled up from the point of
friction. The bits of glowing wood dust so produced were quickly
applied to the tinder and carefully blown to a small flame. Then light
kindling was applied, followed by heavier sticks until the fire was be-

yond the need of further nursing. Standing alone above this altar, Big 796
Wave then offered, in his native tongue, a prayer to be carried upward [372
by the fire to Creator. In a low voice he thanked Creator who taught 778]
the use of fire to the Indians, that it might live with them forever and 796
watch over them. He expressed satisfaction that new fire had been
started on this occasion, so that all present might enjoy the benefits of 782
life. He described the fire as an interpreter, conveying to the spirit
world the prayers of men. He then sprinkled tobacco upon the fire,
saying: "This tobacco I offer you (the spirits) that you may do that
which I ask of you, that you may grant to all here, our wives and children,
and all our relatives, good fortune and all the benefits of life.
This prayer is for others who will also give tobacco."

Later, when the meeting was convened and the guests filed into the ceremonial lodge, many silently sprinkled tobacco on the fire, thereby sharing the benefit of this prayer. This tobacco sacrifice is called, filling the spirits' pipe.

As soon as the new fire was burning well, coals were removed there- 796
from with which to start the cooking fires outside the lodge, for the
feast must be cooked over sacred fire. Two short poles were placed on 252
either side of the fire, topped by a crosspiece from which the pots were [354]
suspended on chains. Water was boiled, with which all the pots were
thoroughly washed. Then the meat (fowl, beef and pork) was prepared
for cooking. The fowls had to be singed over the sacred fire. A [574]
definite number of equal portions were placed in each pot, since each
participating family was to share the contents of a single pot which,
therefore, must contain a portion for every member of the invited group.

While the war-bundle owner's helpers, the waiters, selected from his 796
paternal nephews when possible, were preparing the feast, he himself 778
entered the lodge, took down the war-bundle from where it hung on
the north wall opposite the fire and spread it out on the ground immediately
west of the fire. Although much of the contents of the bundle
appeared to be very old, the cover-piece was of cloth. The bundle was
unrolled and spread out upon this rectangular piece of goods. The
inner wrapper was of matting. Upon this a variety of fetishes and
elements of ceremonial equipment was displayed. These included various
bird skins, reed whistles and an old fire drill set which had long
been out of use due to the fact that the base piece was entirely covered
with holes, without interval, and as deep as the thickness of the piece
would permit.

Two beaded snake-skin fetishes were suspended from the top of a
peeled stake set up between the bundle and the fire. Adjoining this a [412]
sharpened stick, later to be used as a meat fork in distributing the meat,
was placed, the handle thrust into the ground. Two fine old war clubs
from the bundle were also placed between fire and bundle, their handles
thrust into the ground. Two bowls, one containing tobacco and the

796 other mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik, were respectively placed at the
778 northeast and southeast corners of the bundle.

A peeled stake, forked at the top, was set up at the central western
margin of the bundle wrapper. The ceremonial pipe, of Siouan type
[276] with a catlinite bowl, was then filled by the leader from the bowl of
mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik and placed with the stem end resting in
the fork of the stake, the stem slanting diagonally downward across the
bundle and the bowl, in upright position, resting on the central eastern
margin of the bundle wrapper.

[824 The leader then placed some live coals from the fire in a small stove-
shovel. On these coals he placed white cedar leaves. With the smoke
783] of the burning cedar leaves he purified the contents of the bundle, his
own person, and even the walls of the lodge.

796 Shortly before the ceremony was to start, some of the waiters pre-
534 pared the drum. What had probably been originally designed to serve
as a pickle keg, served as the body of the drum. This was partly filled
with water. A buckskin head was then placed over the open end and
drawn taut by means of cords attached to the base of the body. This
was done by means of stick tourniquets in each of the cords. The
proper degree of tautness was determined by tipping the drum bottom
side up, to permit the water to wet the drum head, and testing the tone
quality with the drum stick. After the drum had been thus properly
tuned, more hot coals were placed in the censer, cedar leaves applied and
[783] the drum and stick turned over and over in the resulting smoke. Then
the drum was placed just north of the war-bundle.

A small pot containing two portions of cooked meat was suspended
from the roof of the house immediately west of the bundle.

796 Early in the afternoon, all preparations having been completed, the
ceremony began. The guests in little groups filed into the lodge and
were seated by the head waiter, squatting on mats with their backs to the
wall. The most important guests, owners of war-bundles in other clans,
[562] were placed nearest the door. The eastern two-thirds of the lodge was
occupied by men only. The women were clustered at the western end.
Mr. Fisher and I were seated immediately south of the bundle. The
leader and three assistants, elected to serve as musicians, were grouped
just north of the fireplace.

Although the rites associated with the war-bundle are kept up by
[182] a few of these Winnebago, the ritual has sadly degenerated. Aside from
the host, no man made any serious attempt to equip himself properly
in costume. Many important elements were omitted such as the pre-
liminary sweat bath ceremony, the sacrifice of white buckskins to the
spirits, the dog sacrifice, and many minor details left out of the cere-
monies attempted. When all were assembled, the leader opened the
[537] ceremony with a speech to those assembled. The formal dignity of the
speaker and the unhesitating flow of his words were impressive. He

announced that he was about to give a feast in honor of Creator, all the 796
spirits of the world above, all the spirits of the world below, and all 537
those spirits who had appeared in dreams to any of those present. In
this way, as determined by his grandfathers, should long life, and happiness,
and health and success in warfare be assured to those participating.
He cited the giving of tobacco to various spirits; the dedication
of the cooking meat to various spirits. He called upon other custodians
of war-bundles and their waiters, who might be present, to assist in
the singing, speaking, and dancing. "O! O!", assented the custodians [201]
of other war-bundles who were present.

The drum was now placed before the leader, who passed it to one 796
of his three musicians. The other two and the leader were equipped
with gourd rattles. The leader then took a reed whistle and on it [534]
actually played a tune very like a bugle call. Three distinct notes were
produced by varying the force with which he blew it. He then started
a song, his eyes closed as if in prayer, his face stamped with serious [533]
devotion. His assistants joined in, to the accompaniment of drum and
rattles. A short rest intervalled the completion of this song and the
start of the next. Three other songs followed in like manner. All of
this music was relatively slow in time and not designed to be accompanied
by dancing. A fifth song, of like character, was accompanied [782
by the leader's throwing several pinches of tobacco over the war-bundle.
276]

The next musical contribution was a dancing song and all the men 796
who so desired gathered about the war-bundle, selecting therefrom reed
whistles, and danced in place while blowing the whistles. There being 533
not enough whistles to go around, some took fetishes which they held 535
reverently in their hands while dancing. At the same time, the women
at the west end of the lodge rose and danced in place. With slight
pauses between, four dance songs were so rendered. At the end of each
song, the male dancers participated in a series of war whoops. Everyone
present apparently experienced a keen delight in this. One old [887]
man, blind and so feeble that he could not rise to his feet without
assistance, insisted on dancing, without moving from his allotted place
by the wall, and added his quavering voice to feebly swell the volume of
each battle cry.

When the set of dancing songs was finished, whistles and fetishes 796
were replaced on the bundle and all took their allotted places. Then
the leader again spoke, his voice at times quavering with emotion, [537]
practically repeating his first speech. Again the honored guests answered
with, "O! O!". [201]

The head waiter then took the pipe from its position over the war
bundle, and carried it to the guest seated nearest the door on the south [276]
side. While this old man puffed, the waiter lit the contents of the bowl
with a stick, placed beside the fireplace for that purpose and lighted

796 from the sacred fire. When the pipe was well lit, the waiter carried
276 it to the next man, and so on, passing clockwise about the lodge. Each man puffed several times at the pipe before passing it on. The women
[562] were excluded from participating in this ceremony, as were the leader and his three musicians. The waiters did not actually participate in any part of the entire ceremony, other than in their official capacity.

Before the next song was started, the head waiter carefully cleaned out the pipe, refilled it and placed it again over the bundle. All the tobacco cleaned from the bowl was disposed of in the sacred fire.

This same procedure, from speech to pipe, was repeated four times, although each group of songs was different.

796 Two men were now selected, one representing that group of clans
615 comprising the upper world phratry, the other the lower world phratry. They seated themselves in the center of the lodge with a wooden bowl
264 between them. In this bowl were placed the two portions of meat from the pots suspended from the lodge ceiling. At a given signal, each began to devour his allotted share of the meat as rapidly as possible. The phratry whose side wins in this eating contest will have good luck when next it takes the warpath.

796 The leader then told the dream experience of the original bundle
787 holder and said a few words thanking all for their participation. One of the waiters then proceeded to replace the contents of the bundle, roll it up, tie it and place it against the wall just back of the leader.

796 It was now time for the war-bundle feast, which consisted solely of
574 meat boiled with a few beans. Each pot had been dedicated to a certain spirit or order of spirits, but since these were not materially present to do proper justice to the occasion, the honored guests had to represent them in receiving and disposing of the food. One pot was placed before each of these leaders, and the contents were distributed under his direction to the men of his party. Other meat was supplied for the women and children of the group which he represented. The chief honored guest received the pot dedicated to Creator. On such occasions, one must eat all that is set before him, since the food is consecrated.

574 It should be noted here that Mr. Fisher has certain marked tastes in
114 food. He is not particularly fond of meat of any kind, dislikes beef particularly and dislikes boiled beef the most of all. His predicament can well be imagined, therefore, when a large portion of boiled beef was placed before him with the understanding that none must be wasted. Fortunately, one may broadcast a call for outside help on such occasions without trespassing against the rules of the ceremony. Very piteously, then, did Fisher make his plea to me. Knowing that the night spirit dance with a vegetable feast was to follow, he promised to eat the greater share of the vegetables apportioned to us if I would agree to do double duty on the meat. Out of the kindness of my heart, and also because I prefer boiled beef to boiled dried squash, I agreed to do this. Nor did

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I permit him to forget his bargain when the squash was served later in 114 the day.

Big Wave did not participate in the feast, nor did he smoke cere- 796 moniously or otherwise during the entire performance. During the feast 574 he sang several songs without drum. These were his war-bundle songs, obtained in a dream by the original owner of the bundle and descending to his successors.

The bones from the feast were gathered up by the waiters and placed in a single vessel. Tobacco was added to the bones, and the vessel taken out to a place where no people were in view and where no dogs could [782] molest the contents. This was a sacrifice to Disease Giver.

After the meat had been entirely consumed, the leader announced 796 that they would now have night spirit dancing. An old bow and four arrows were brought out and planted in the floor to stand erect in a row just west of the fireplace, where the war-bundle had formerly been displayed. Big Waye appointed one to lead the dance. The dancers aligned themselves in single file on the south side of the lodge, facing west, and were led by the dance leader carrying the bow and arrows and blowing a reed whistle, followed by the other dancers. The singers began singing and the dancers circled several times about the lodge counter-clockwise. With short pauses between, several songs and dances were so executed. When the set of songs was finished, the bowl of tobacco dedicated to the use of the guests was then given by one of the [574] waiters to the most honored guest. The head waiter lifted the stove shovel containing the remains of the burned cedar leaves and poured the contents in the fire. Then the singing was resumed and they danced once more about the fire, joyously.

When the singing stopped, the leader for this dance returned the whistle to Big Wave, and the latter, as soon as all were again seated, addressed his guests. He said that this was the way they worshipped the spirits of their fathers. He thanked those participating for their assistance in the singing and dancing and solicited their further help. So they should enjoy health, long life and success. Everyone responded [201] with a series of confirmative "O's". The feast of boiled squash was now served. It was the duty of the waiters to eat any scraps left by the feasters, since food uneaten is considered an affront to the spirits [261] to whom the food is dedicated.

The ceremonies described above were followed by a buffalo dance. It seems that the spirit of the buffalo was especially noted for his speed in running, and could imbue his devotees with his skill. Inasmuch as [825] speed in running was of prime importance in primitive warfare, where [726] the desired procedure was to come quickly upon the enemy, strike decisively and disappear from the scene, the buffalo dance is considered [535] an altogether proper adjunct to the war-bundle ceremony, and regularly follows in.

● 796 The shrine about which this ceremony centers is also a bundle, in
796 this instance owned by one of the waiters, but not necessarily so. Its
778 setting up followed a definite procedure. A small mound of sand was
535 first heaped up on the grassy floor of the lodge. A wooden bowl was placed on the top center of the mound, and a tin bowl directly west of the mound. These were both filled with maple syrup. Four men placed handsful of tobacco at the base of each of the syrup containers. Then the bowl of syrup was removed from the mound, to be placed adjacent to the tin vessel, and from the open buffalo bundle a number of buffalo tails were taken and placed upon the mound. Four small
[823] eagle feathers, dyed red, were inserted in the margins of the mound to point in the four cardinal directions.

123 The leader, accompanied by musicians with rattles and one drummer,
535 then sang one set of four songs. A dance song followed, practically
796 everyone present joining in the dance, forming in line behind the leader and circling the lodge in a counter-clockwise direction. All the men were in the forepart of the line; the women followed the men. As the line was forming, several of the men urged the humble subscriber to this account to join the dance. Never before having witnessed the particular performance, I was entirely ignorant of the correct procedure, but realizing that this was a common dance in which anyone could participate without special preparation or careful observance of conduct, I, to my downfall, consented. I joined the line where it was forming immediately in front of me. The dance started before I became aware of my embarassing position; for whereas all the other men were grouped to comprise the leading half of the line, I was far back in the formation, distantly removed from the other representatives of my sex —dancing with the squaws. The shouts of merriment arising from both the men and women satisfied me, however, that I had not committed the unpardonable sin. Nevertheless, as soon as it was convenient, I corrected the error of my position.

796 As the line passed the bowls of syrup, the dancers each drank of
535 the contents; the men from one bowl, the women from the other. The singing and dancing was continued until all the syrup was gone. Finally, the wooden bowl having been replaced on the sand altar, the leader approached it on hands and knees, mimicking the grunts and actions of a buffalo. He then proceeded to butt the bowl with his head, turning it over.

796 Speeches by the leader and by other prominent men brought the cere-
152 mony to a close.

781 My general reactions to the performance were two-fold. In the first place, I could not but be impressed by the exalted fervor of the older participants; at times tears coursed down the cheeks of Big Wave as he sang the spirit songs of his ancestors, and other participants
[illegible] showed the effect of strong emotion. Secondly, I beheld the ancient

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

§2. *My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud* 159 *

My brother-in-law was named Thunder Cloud. It 225
is said that he was living his third life as a human [551]
being.[*]

This is his account:

I once lived with a small group of Indians numbering about twenty camps. When I had grown up to be a lad, although still not large enough to handle a gun, a war-party attacked us and killed us all. I did not know, however, that I had been killed. I thought that I was running about as usual until I saw a heap of bodies on the ground and mine among them. No one was there to bury us, so there we lay and rotted.

My ghost was taken to the place where the sun sets. There I lived with an old couple. The land of the spirits is an excellent place and the people have the best of times. If you desire to go anywhere all that you have to do is to wish yourself there and you reach it. While there I thought I would like to come to the earth again so the old man with whom I was staying said to me, "My son, did you not speak about wanting to go to the earth again?" I had as

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[*] The belief in reincarnation is very widespread among the Winnebago. It is generally believed that if any child resembles some deceased individual he is that individual reincarnated. Not every person, however, can become reincarnated. This is a privilege that [554]
belongs only to the more prominent people and to the members of the most sacred of Winnebago ceremonies, the Medicine Dance. [996]

*159 helped will then really know what kind of a man you are.
577 For the good you do people will love you.

869 It is not good to win at gambling. You may possibly
[525] become rich thereby but that is no life to lead. If you
are blessed with luck in cards, if you are blessed with luck at gambling, you will perhaps win things and have plenty of wealth, but none of your children will live.

Now if you do all that I have told you, you will lead a happy and prosperous life. That is why we Winnebago preach to a child we love so that it should never become acquainted with the things that are not right, and never do anything wrong. Then if, in later life, a person does anything wrong, he will do it with a clear knowledge of the consequences of his actions.

III

*159 My son, when you get married, do not make an idol of
581 the woman you marry; do not worship her. If you worship
867 a woman she will insist upon greater and greater worship as
time goes on. This is what the old people used to say.
562 They always preached against those men who hearken too
593 strongly to the words of women; who are the slaves of
women. Now it may happen that a man has received many warnings as to his behavior in this regard and that he pays no attention to them. It may go so far that when he is asked to attend a war-bundle feast[20] he will refuse to go; it may be that when he is married he will listen to the voice

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[726] [20] The war-bundle feast was the great war ceremony of the Winne-
● [796] bago. It was given by all those individuals who possessed a war-
bundle and since theoretically there was only one war-bundle in each
[614] clan, the basis of the organization of the ceremony was the clan.
[776] The ceremony consisted largely of prayers, songs and speeches in
honor of the spirits more definitely associated with war. For each

593

of his wife and refuse to go on a warpath. He might as 159*
well have been brought up as a girl. Men who are real 581
men perform the deeds of men, but such a man will never 867
perform a real man's deed. If he should actually attend 562
a war-bundle feast he will be given the leanest piece of
meat, only given to a man of no account. Why should any [554]
one run the risk of being thus jeered at? Now when a [626]
really brave man attends a war-bundle feast he is given a deer's head. This other man gets a lean piece! It will dry up in his throat, so humiliated and disgraced will he feel. After a while he will not be allowed to go to any feast; his wife will not let him. He will listen to the voice of his wife. His relatives will scold him, his sisters will think nothing of him. They will tell people never to go to visit him. Finally when he has become a real slave of his wife he will even hit his relatives if she asks him to. It is for these reasons that I warn you not to listen to women. You will be considered different from others. It is not good.

Remember this too, that women cannot be watched. If you try to watch them and are jealous about them, then your female relatives will also be jealous of them. Finally when your jealousy has developed to the highest pitch, your wife will leave you and run away with some one else. You have allowed her to see by your actions that you worship a woman, and one alone, and, in addition, you have been watching her all the time. Because of this incessant annoyance she will run away from you. If you think that [726]

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of these spirits, a buckskin decorated with the symbol sacred to
the spirit, was prepared and then at the most dramatic moment of [796] ●
the ceremony these buckskins were thrown out of the ceremonial [614]
lodge and it was believed that the spirits came down in person to [716]
fetch them. The war-bundle feast was specifically a man's ceremony.

§10. *A War-Bundle Feast*

When the hunting was over my father selected ten 159* deer with which to give a war-bundle feast. Those who 796 ● had been selected as attendants then transferred these 726 deer to the place where the people always give their feasts.

I was fasting at the time and only broke my fast at 159* evening. Every night I went out to make my appeal to 787 the spirits before I ate. Five days before the feast 796 was to be given I commenced to fast through the night 726 also. On the fifth night, together with my older brother, I went to the feast. During the day I had spent the time in the wilderness uttering my cry to the spirits:

"O spirits, here humble in heart I stand, beseeching [782] you."

I was far more thirsty than hungry. I don't believe that either my tongue or mouth were even moist.

That night we held aloft the deerskins that were to [782] be offered to the spirits and we stood there crying piteously. There we wept humbly and those who were to give the feast wept with us, as they extended their holy compassion to us. Then, at midnight, we stood near the war weapons and again raised our appeal to the spirits.

Our feast was given in a lodge that had eight fire- ooo

*159 Our feast was given in a lodge that had eight fire-
796 places. The host always sits near the last fireplace, at
787 the east end. There we stood crying to the spirits.
346 My older brother fell to the ground from fatigue and
354 exhaustion. We were stark naked except for our
291 breech-clouts. When this prayer was finished we put
on our moccasins. Then the host greeted the participants as follows:

"I greet you; I greet you all, war-bundle possessors. My grandparents, especially my grandfather, concentrated their minds upon this ceremony for me. The fireplace, the food, the offerings, with which the spirits blessed my grandfather, that I am going to ask for myself to-day. However weakly I may wobble about in trying to do the proper thing to-day, I know that my elders present here will extend their aid to me. I am now going to offer some tobacco to you all. War-bundles possessors, I greet you all."

*159 796 782 539 726 Following the speech came the prayers to the various spirits:

Hearken O Earthmaker, our father, I am about to offer tobacco to you. My ancestor concentrated his mind upon you and that with which you blessed him I now ask of you directly. I ask for the small amount of life you granted him, aye for four times the blessings you bestowed upon him. May I never meet with trouble in life.

O Grandfather, chief of the Thunderbirds, you who live in the west, here is a handful of tobacco. Extend to me the deer with which you blessed my ancestor. I pray you to accept this tobacco from me. May I never meet with trouble in life.

A War-Bundle Feast

O Grandfathers, spirits of the night, walkers in darkness, 159*
to you I offer tobacco and ask for the fireplaces which my 796●
ancestor received. If you smoke this tobacco see to it that 782
I never become a weakling.

To you who live in the south, you who look like a man, 539
you who are invulnerable, you who deal out life from one 726
side of your body and death from the other, you whom we [953]
call Disease-Giver, to you I offer tobacco. In daylight, in broad daylight, did you bless my ancestor. With food you blessed him; you told him that he would never fail in anything, you told him that you would avoid his home; you placed animals in front of him that he should have no trouble in obtaining them. An offering of tobacco I make to you that you may smoke it and that I may not be troubled in life.

Then they offered prayers to the Black Hawk, the 159*
Sun, the Moon, the South Wind, the Earth, and the 796
Eagle. Many speeches were given, for every guest [782]
who was invited to impersonate a spirit delivered one. 539
The man who was impersonating the Thunderbird 726
spoke as follows:

Host and relatives, all you who are seated here, to all I send forth my greetings. All those present have given me good advice and even the women and children here have pleaded in my behalf with the spirits. What love that was! And of what does life consist of but love! The clan counselor is repeating the songs that were obtained when the sacred bundle was made, so that when the time for the tobacco offering to the spirits came, the specially prepared tobacco would be ready. Now indeed that time has arrived

*159 and they are all sitting here prepared to pray to all the ● 776 various spirits. Long before, when in their visions they 537 were vouchsafed a warpath, the soul of the man they were 726 to kill would be already in their possession when they performed this ceremony. It is to attract his soul that this ceremony is performed. You are going to have a good and prosperous warpath. When you are actually in the midst of the warpath and are about to rush upon the enemy, pour tobacco to the various spirits who are in control of war, say, [782] "Thus, grandfathers, were we accustomed to offer tobacco to you." Although you may not know by any word or direct sign whether the war-controllers have answered you, you will know it as soon as the rush upon the enemy takes place, for although you walk where the bullets rain hardest you will pass out of their range and come through in safety. Then when you return to your people every one will rush out to bestow the war honors upon you. If you give this [782] sacred feast in the proper way, if you burn up much tobacco and food, then the various spirits, especially the [776] Thunderbirds who are the greatest war-controllers, will bless you for the excellent way in which you prayed to him. Whenever they pass your way they will remember you. They will even call you by name and say, "Let us smoke here."

This is the way in which young men are encouraged to act, but only a few succeed. It is good. The host has preached to us and pleaded for all those who are present. He has made offerings of food to our grandfathers who [782] live in the west; pleasing offerings of tobacco and buckskin has he sent to them. I have been permitted to impersonate this great spirit and have thus obtained life for myself and my unimportant clansmen, for all of us who have been living in so lowly a condition. With real life have we felt ourselves connected through your actions. We have felt our-

selves connected with life by means of that organ which 159*
Earthmaker gave us as a measure of things.[21] I send 796 ●
forth my greetings to you all. 537
726

Then he who was impersonating the Disease-Giver spoke:

War-bundle owners, relatives seated around here, I greet you all. This is indeed a marvelous performance that we have witnessed and he who was able to do it must surely be a marvelous man. Very few people listen to the advice
of their parents but he must have been one who did and [593]
that is why he has done so well. The members of his clan have been sincerely worshiping the spirits. He who originally made this war-bundle ritual was like a spirit in power and what he told them to do they are doing in every detail. It is good work they are doing. Sufficient food are they offering to those in control of war powers for the spirits easily to take cognizance of it. They have placed ample tobacco and different kinds of buckskin within reach
of the spirits. To you, O Disease-Giver, a pleasing white [782]
buckskin has been strung out in offering and with it a pleasing red feather as a hair ornament. How indeed would it [301]
be possible for the spirits not to recognize these offerings? And if they recognize them then we who are impersonating the spirits, will also receive the benefit of the blessings of war and life, extended to the host.

Long ago our ancestors asked the spirits to bless them so that then they might live happily. Here we are sitting around the fireplace and the life that the host and his friends have asked for, the spirits are not merely extending to them

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[21] A very curious circumlocution for stomach. He means, of course, all the food that has been eaten. [195]

726
*159 but to all those present. In the olden days the old people
● 796 used to say to the young boys, "You are not able to fast
537 as yet and to offer up proper food to the spirits so as to
clear away the weapons held against you." Now just as
726 these older people would have liked, so you are doing.
*159 Even I, who am of no consequence, have nevertheless been
796 permitted to impersonate a great spirit. This you have
776 done for me—allowed me to impersonate that spirit[1] who
537 is the bravest of them all, the one who is in control of
[753] power whereby an enemy can be killed outright! One side
of this spirit's body controls life and the other death. Now
they are about to offer to this spirit, the food of a white
[782] animal, of a male animal, the dog, as well as a white buck-
skin, feathers and tobacco—all of them objects that please
him very much. To Disease-Giver they are about to extend
these things so that therewith they may ask him for war
power and life. It is an awe-inspiring spirit to whom they
have been making offerings. Surely I, who have been listen-
ing only by virtue of the host's generosity, do not have to
say anything in his behalf. He thought of his ancestor
[782] when he asked me to impersonate this spirit. Of all the
spirits his is the name which one cannot speak lightly,
it is said. If nevertheless I greet his name and speak about
this spirit, may I not be weakened by uttering it. Those
who are about to offer you food, grandfather Disease-Giver,
send you their greetings. To you, O host, do I send my
greetings, as well as to all the war-bundle owners seated
here.

*159 The feasters sang dancing songs throughout all this
796 time. At dawn we were to pass the deerskin offerings
726 through the roof of the lodge. My older brother took
the lead. I followed and the others came up behind

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[1] [i.e., Disease Giver -- Analyst]

A War-Bundle Feast

We all had a deerskin apiece. Only those who 159 *
were giving the feast had the right to hold one of the 796 ●
ten deerskins. A man playing a flute taken from a 726
war-bundle marched ahead, and behind came the people [534]
carrying the incense of the burning cedar leaves. We
thus marched around the lodge and my brother and I [782]
again made our cry to the spirits. At that time we
were naked apart from our breech-clouts and moccasins. Four times did we make the circuit. Then we
passed the deerskins up through the roof of the lodge. 159 *

Now the feasters were to eat again. A separate 796
kettle had been put on for us boys and we were to eat 787
first. They then called upon a man to eat out of our 726
plate with us. His name was *Blue-sitter*. He was a holy man, a shaman, a brave man, one who had obtained many war honors. Four deer ribs were dished out to me in a wooden bowl. Then the one who was to eat out of my plate came and sat near my dish and began to handle the food. He tore it into small pieces and began telling me of the blessing he had received from the spirits. He told me how all the great spirits
had blessed him—the Sun, the Moon, the Thunder- [776]
birds, the Earth, the Sky, the Daylight, and all the spirits that exist in the heavens. The spirits on the earth and those under the waters, all these talked to him, he said. While partaking of my food he would think of this power, he told me. I would go through battle unharmed and I was to obtain war honors. My children, if I had any, were to enjoy a good and happy life. Thus he spoke.

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Then he took a piece of my food in his mouth and placed some in my mouth four times. I continued eating as the rest of the feasters began their meal. For quite some time I was not able to eat much.

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787

Through it all I was not in the least conscious of any dreams or blessings. All that I was aware of was that all the people around me were taking pity upon me. Throughout it all I had my mind fixed on women. In doing these things I imagined that I had accomplished something great and that I had risen greatly in women's estimation. Even though I tried to render myself pitiable in the sight of the spirits, yet through it all, my thoughts were centered upon them. I was never lowly at heart and never really desired the blessing of the spirits. All that I thought of was that I was a great man and that the women would regard me as a great man.

§14. *Initiation into the Medicine Dance*

*159 The person who had died and whose place I was to take was an uncle of my father's. I was glad of the opportunity for I had always liked the Medicine Dance whenever I had seen it. I had aways enjoyed watching from the outside what was taking place inside and I had always been filled with envy. So naturally I was very glad to join and anxious as to what would happen. We proceeded to the place where the ceremony was to be held, traveling from Tomah to Wittenberg. Sometimes we would have to walk, but I enjoyed it nevertheless. I was very happy.

Finally we arrived at the place and my father explained to the people that he had turned over his right of membership to me. They were quite satisfied.

*159 346 ●796 We were to build the ceremonial lodge immediately, so we went and cut the poles for it after measuring the length required. Of course, we hunted around and got the kind of poles always used for that purpose. Then we constructed the lodge. We stuck the poles in the earth. We worked together with three old men, brothers of the man who had died. They told me that this ceremony was a holy affair, that it was Earthmaker's play. We made an offering of tobacco at every move we made. I, of course, thought that it must

I, of course, thought that it must 159*
indeed be a marvelous thing and I was very happy 796 ●
about it. What I was most eager to see was myself
killed and then brought to life again in the lodge, as it [775]
was believed happened to the members of the Medicine
Dance. I also realized that a member of the Medicine
Dance, whether man or woman, was different from a [554]
person not belonging to it and I was quite anxious not
to be an ordinary person any longer but to be a medicine man.

As soon as we finished building the ceremonial lodge
the ceremony began, and the first thing the people did
was to sing. Then the leader of the band that was 159*
giving the dance arose and delivered a speech: 796

> All those who are sitting here I greet. We are waiting 537
> for all of you to have compassion upon us. Nephew,[38] I
> shall now tell you the road you are to travel. He whom we
> call nephew, the hare, the founder of the Medicine Dance,
> obtained this life-ensuring ceremony for us. This is the
> only life; no other exists. Exert yourself to follow in the
> road of your ancestors and adhere to the ceremony that
> represented their mode of life. I know you will hearken to
> what I say. Assuredly you will listen, for thereby you will
> help and benefit yourself and, at the same time, attain the
> good life.
>
> Never do anything wrong. Do not steal. Do not quarrel.
> If on any occasion you meet a woman on the road, turn [577]
> to the right, never to the left. No matter who the woman
> is, do not take liberties with her. This is what the old
> people taught us and if you perform the rites of this
> ceremony you will obtain the life that we desire for you. [608]

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[38] The person to be initiated is always called nephew.

*159 I beg of you to try with all your powers for I wish you to
● 796 lead a happy life. This truly is our sincere wish.
537 Ancestors, we greet you. Our ancestors long since de-
parted, performed the ceremony just as we do to-day. We
[765] are to have a tear-pouring ceremony for the spirit of the
one who has died. All those who are here will mourn for
him. Whatever it is that his ghost can obtain for us by
his requests,—all that he left behind him in this world—
beseechingly we shall ask him to obtain. It is said that this
is always procurable. What we mean is additional life.
All that our ancestors desired, that we too earnestly desire.
So it is when the ceremony was first established. Now we
shall sing a mourning song. We must sing it with sincerity
and when we cry we must not allow our voices to quaver.
It has been said that if a man is bad his crying will be
insincere. Ancestors, we greet you.

*159 The first night they kept me up all night and I
796 heard a good deal about sacred affairs. I was not
sleepy at any time during the night and I remained this way until morning. I enjoyed it all so much that I did not even go to sleep the next day. The next night they kept me up again but as before I did not get sleepy. On this night they told me even more things. Throughout three successive nights I did not sleep at all. On the fourth night they sang till morning. On the fifth night they were to have what is called the rehearsal. During the day many people began to gather. In the afternoon only the old men and myself went to the sweat lodge. Only the men who had received special invitations were allowed. When we came out it was sundown. Then those occupying the eastern

seat in the main lodge stopped singing and the specially invited people entered the regular ceremonial lodge. 159* 096

The older people took charge of me for the whole night. Whenever they referred to me they would say, "In the morning when he-for-whom-we-desire-life becomes like us." They meant me and they meant that I would be a member in the morning. So I was extremely anxious for the morning to dawn. All night they danced. This part of the ceremony is called the rehearsal or trial performance.

The next morning, just before day, even while the dance was still going on, the leader of the first and second band, those of the east end and some others, took me to a secret place in the brush. When we got there we found a place where the ground had been cleared in the outline of the dance lodge. There the older people preached to me and told me that the most [626] fearful things imaginable would happen if I made public any of the affair, *i.e.*, told the secrets of the Medicine Dance. The world would come to an end, they said. They told me that if I didn't keep everything secret I would die.

It was in the brush that the leader told me of the [056] road that all medicine men travel.

The Road of Life

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056
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My son, as you travel along this road do not doubt it. If you do you'll be unhappy; you'll injure yourself. But if you do everything that I tell you well it will benefit you greatly.

*159 756 539 be caved in. The man talking to you will be the one in charge of the medicine-lodge road. You will now become unconscious but not for a long time, i.e., although you will die, you'll go right on in the spirit. Near you, you will find the medicine man's staffs or ladders. The ladders reach to heaven. On the right side you will find a tree, all twisted and slippery from incessant rubbing. On the left you will see a red cedar tree, all smoothed down from wear and dirty from incessant handling. You must grab these trees, and then when you have ascended them you'll come to a country situated right below the place where Earthmaker lives. This country has been especially provided for those who have adhered to the ritual of the Medicine Dance. You will be told that this is your home and, after a while you'll be directed to a long lodge where you will find all those of your relatives who have adhered to the teachings of the lodge. Although you are a grown-up person you will nevertheless be taken on each one's lap in turn. This country is a very happy one to live in. No one is ever in want; no bad clouds float over it; there is no night and there is no work.

After a while the attendants of Earthmaker will come to you and take you to him. There you'll see him face to [775] face. He will tell you that you have done well and that you can become reincarnated in whatever tribe you desire. Those that perform the ritual properly believe that they can come to the world again after death.

*159 756 ●796 After the old man had finished telling about the road of the Medicine Dance Lodge I was shown how to fall down and lie quivering on the ground and how to appear dead. I was very much disappointed for I had

had a far more exalted idea of the shooting. "Why, it 159*
amounts to nothing," I thought. "I have been de- 756
ceived. They only do this to make money." I also 796
thought then that many of the sacred things about which they had spoken to me were not true either. However I kept on and did as I was told for I had been taught to deceive in the ceremony in the brush. As soon as I was proficient in the act of feigning death, we started back to the main lodge.

The older people told me that I would become like them in body as soon as I became a member of the lodge, but I did not experience any change within me. All that I felt was that I had become a deceiver in one of Earthmaker's creations.

During the day, at the regular meeting, I did as I had been taught. Many speeches and many songs were sung and then, at about ten o'clock, the leader of the north band arose and told the story of the origin of the world and of the Medicine Dance.

The Story of the Origin of the World

What it was our father sat on when he came to con- 539
sciousness we do not know. His tears flowed and he began 796
to cry. Not long was he sunk in thought. He saw nothing and nothing was there anywhere. He took something from the thing on which he was lying and out of it made a portion of our earth. This he sent to the space below him and from where he lay he could see that what he had created had become similar in shape to our earth. Yet nothing grew upon it and it was entirely without a cover-

The Medicine Dance

"Well, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said that you were to help me. My uncles and aunts have now received all that I desired for them. I thank you." 539 776

Now throughout the ceremony I felt all the time that we were merely deceiving the spectators. When it was all over the members of my band told me that in two years I would be able to imitate the sounds of animals to my heart's content for I had taken the place of a great medicine man. Those who have the privilege of dancing obtain it by making gifts to the older members and thus buying the right. Those who do not buy this right or are not given permission to use it, are not allowed to dance. It is the same way with the shooting. Unless, for instance, a man buys the right, he is not allowed to extend his arms at full length when he shoots, but he must hold them close to his breast. The right to drum as well as the right to shake the gourd rattles, all these things must be bought. In fact, almost everything must be bought. I was told, however, that I would not have to go through all this training but would become a great medicine man immediately. That pleased me. I was given a gray squirrel-skin to use as a medicine pouch and I was told that it was really alive and that I had the power to make it cry aloud. I had seen people doing this and I had always envied them. This was another of the things I was anxious to do. Indeed I wondered greatly how it could be done. 159* 156 796 [424]

When the dance was over my father went away and left me at that place alone. He left me at the home of the deceased person's wife. I did not go back to 159*

*159 school but, instead, stayed near the old woman and did various jobs for her. There I stayed all spring.

*159 756 761 ●796 I had been told that if a person initiated into the Medicine Dance did not regard the affair as sacred this was a sign that he would die soon. This frightened me a good deal for I had been thinking of the whole matter in a very light-hearted fashion and I now felt that this was an indication that I would soon die. I did my best therefore to consider it a sacred ceremony. In spite of all this, however, I did not succeed.

*159 About this time I left for Tomah. It was about the middle of the summer. I stayed and lived with my [869] grandfather and from that time on was taught by him many of the details of the Medicine Dance. For instance, when I prepared a sweat-bath for him he would teach me some of the songs. I accordingly prepared the bath for him frequently. He would always be grateful and that is another of the reasons why I was glad to do it. Before long I had learned all the songs he knew so that when I was invited to a Medicine Dance I would do all the singing and he would only do the talking. From that time on I said that it was a sacred affair, and from then on I participated in the ceremony for the greatness inhering in it. I boasted [156] of its greatness in the presence of women, in order to make a good impression upon them.

[P. 126]

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159
755 drink." Thus she spoke. I was surprised. Perhaps
[156] I am really holy, after all, I thought.

After this incident, of course, I boasted of my powers
*159 even more, for now I was really convinced that I pos-
156 sessed sacred power. I talked as do those who have
789 knowledge of blessings obtained from all the spirits
in creation; I spoke with all the authority of a great
medicine man. I used to do the singing for my band
during the performance of the Medicine Dance, and as
I had a deep bass voice, everybody liked it. Some-
times I would be given offerings of food in a kettle.

*159 I always drank a great deal whenever a Medicine
273 Dance was given and frequently I would knock people
796 unconscious when I was drunk, even those in the
vicinity of the camp.

[P.138]

§23. *I Take a Trip to Nebraska*

*159 597 Shortly after this I had to go to Nebraska. It was in connection with a child I once had, a boy who had died when he was two years old. His mother's father then adopted another one in his place. This child belonged to the Menominee tribe. I had to go there for I was the adopted father of the child and he was thus my son, the one who was taking my dead son's place. [431] I gave the boy a horse at the ceremony performed to fill the dead child's place. ● [796] The ceremony itself was the Sore Eye Dance.[27] The relatives of the mother gave me some beaded bags, two boxes of maple sugar, etc. Before I had started out for Nebraska, when I was still living in Wittenberg, the boy came to me. I was then living with a woman, and she gave me many things that I was to take along with me to Nebraska and for which she hoped I would get horses in return.

*159 When I started, I stopped at Black River Falls. I went to a woman with whom I had once lived, in order to take her along with me, but she refused. I had gone

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[515] [27] The Sore Eye Dance, called more correctly the Society-of-those-who-have-been-blessed-by-the-Night-Spirits, is a secret society organized something like that of the Medicine Dance but quite different in object. It is primarily a war ceremony and its nickname of Sore Eye Dance arose out of the fact that it was so frequently given after the return of a successful war party that the people attending it, got sore eyes from staying up so long. [727] [796]

*159 [588] [213] [604] was over. Indeed, I even got married there. I kept on drinking all the time. It was then that a nephew of mine begged me to give him my buggy. A nephew has the privilege of asking his uncle for anything, and the uncle must give it. In return the uncle can compel the nephew to work for him at any time.

Some time after that I went to visit an uncle of mine. He said, "Nephew, to-morrow they are going to have a Medicine Dance, and to-night they are going to have a trial performance.[28] Your aunt is going to buy provisions for the meal, and you may go along with her." So I went along. When we got to town we drank, and on the following day it was rumored that the woman and myself were missing. The buggy in which we were riding was quite broken, my hat was gone, and my trousers ripped open. I immediately went back to the place I had come from, even though the Medicine Dance was being given. The woman, I heard, was still missing. I then went to the place at which I had been staying, and remained there all day. I got very tired. In the morning I mounted a horse and went to town. [548] There I was arrested. I was asked what I was doing in the town. "I am not doing anything; I am merely visiting around." Then the one in charge of the law said that I was to pay ten dollars and that if I did not do so, he would send me to prison. I therefore sold my horse for twenty dollars, and out of it I paid the ten

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● [996] [28] The first part of the regular Medicine Dance is supposed to be merely a rehearsal for the following day when the main ceremony is given and is in consequence called the "trial" performance.

My Release from Prison

They were glad to see me. Then we all walked to their 159*
home My father and I walked by ourselves and he 195
told me about the peyote. "It does not amount to any-
thing, all this that they are doing. Yet those who par-
take, stop their drinking. Sick people also get well. [955]
We were told these things and therefore joined. What
they claimed is true and your mother is practically well
now; and so am I. They claim to offer prayers to
Earthmaker, to God." He stopped and then continued,
"The peyote people are rather foolish for they cry
when they feel very happy about anything. They
throw away all the medicines that they possess and
whose virtues they know. They give up all the bless-
ings they received while fasting, give up all the spirits
who blessed them. They stop giving feasts and making
offerings of tobacco. They burn up all their holy things,
destroy the war-bundles. They stop smoking and
chewing tobacco. They are bad people. They burn
up their medicine pouches, give up the Medicine Dance
and even cut up their otter-skin bags.[81] They say they
are praying to Earthmaker, to God, and do so standing
and crying. They claim to hold nothing holy except
Earthmaker, God; that everything they are giving up
comes from the bad spirits, that the bad spirits de-
ceived them. They claim that there are no spirits with [996]
the power of bestowing blessings and that there is no
other spirit except Earthmaker, God." Then I said,

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[81] The most sacred object of the Medicine Dance. It is within [998]
the otter-skin bag that the shell is concealed with which the newly [996]
initiated members of the dance, as well as the regular members, are
shot.

§30. *I Eat the Peyote*

I sat inside the lodge with them. One man acted as 159 *
leader and we were to do whatever he ordered. The 785
various objects belonging to the ceremony—the two 796
peyote buttons, the drum, the eagle-wing fan, and the small gourd rattle—were all placed before him. I wanted to sit in some place on the side for I felt that I might get to crying like the others. I felt quite ashamed of myself.

The leader arose and talked. He said that this was an affair of Earthmaker's and that he, the leader, could do nothing of his own initiative; that God was going to
conduct the ceremony. He said the medicine, the peyote, [824]
was holy and that he would turn us all over to it. He further said, "I am a very pitiful figure in this ceremony so that when you pray to Earthmaker, pray
also for me. Now let us all rise and pray to Earthmaker." [782]
We all rose. Then he prayed. He prayed for the sick and he prayed for those who did not yet know Earthmaker. He said that they were to be pitied. When he had finished we sat down. The peyote was then passed around. They gave me five buttons and my brother-in-law spoke to me, "If you speak to this medicine, the peyote, it will give you whatever you ask of it. After that you must pray to

*159 Earthmaker and then eat the peyote." I, however, ate
795 the peyote immediately for I did not know what to ask
796 for and I did not know what to say in a prayer to Earthmaker. I therefore ate the peyote buttons just as they were. They were very bitter and had a taste difficult for me to describe. After eating them I wondered a good deal about what was going to happen to me. Soon I was given five more peyote buttons and these also I ate. They tasted rather bitter. I was now very quiet for the peyote had somewhat weakened me. I listened attentively to the singing and liked it very much. I felt as though I were partly asleep and quite different from my normal self. When I looked around and examined myself, however, I saw nothing wrong. I certainly felt different from my normal self. Before this I used to dislike the songs but now I liked them very much, particularly those the leader was singing. I liked listening to him very much.

They were all sitting very quietly and doing nothing
[533] expect singing. Each man sang four songs and then
[798] passed the sacred objects to the next person. Each man held a stick and an eagle's feather in one hand and a small gourd rattle, which he would shake when singing, in the other. One of the participants did the drumming. In this manner the sacred objects would be passed along until they came back to the leader. The leader would then sing four songs and when he had finished these, place the sacred objects on the ground and rise and pray to Earthmaker. Then he called upon one or two to speak. These people all said

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

that Earthmaker was good and that the peyote was 159* good, and that whosoever ate the peyote would be able 795 to free himself from the bad spirit. They said that 796 Earthmaker forbids us to commit sins. When this was over they sang again.

After midnight I would every now and then hear 159* some one cry. In some cases I saw a person go up to 795 the leader and talk to him. He would stand up and 786 pray with him. I was told what these people were saying. I was told that these people were asking others to pray for them for they were sorry for the sins they had committed and wished to be prevented from committing them again. They cried very loudly. I was rather frightened, especially when I noticed that when I closed my eyes and sat still, strange things began to appear before me. I was not in the least sleepy. Then the light of morning came upon me. In the morning, when the sun rose, the ceremony stopped. All got up and prayed to Earthmaker and left.

During the daytime I did not get sleepy in the least. 159* My actions, however, were a little different from my 795 usual ones. Then the people said, "To-night they are going to have another meeting. Let us go over. They say that this is the best thing to do for then, you can learn the ceremony immediately. It is said that the souls of the members of the peyote ceremony wander [794] all over the earth and the heavens. All this you will learn and see." They continued, "At times the members die and remain dead all night and day. When in this condition they sometimes see Earthmaker, it is

9: Morgan E-5 (1859) 1959 NP12 Winnebago NP12

[*Winnebago*] *Medicine Dance*

115 I met Judge Williams[97] this evening and listened among other things to a very fine description of a medicine dance among the Winnebagoes. He is District Judge of Kansas, and has held the same office in Iowa and been with the Indians for 25 years. He superintended the removal of the Sauks and Foxes etc.

He was invited by the Winnebagoes as a
compliment to attend a medicine dance, or
the Spirit Dance.[98] This is a religious
● 796 organization which the Judge likens to our
575 church. They initiate with forms and ceremonies
each neophyte, and at that time go
through with their high religious performances.
[787] The Judge says they have mesmerism

[P.60(A)]

[pp. 1-59 not processed]

97 & 98 [see category 116 - p210.
Analyst]

796

575 and clairvoyance, and thinks they have had [787] them for centuries. They use a long and [346] large lodge a [blank] prepared for the purpose, in which all those allowed to witness the ceremonies are assembled. Adjoin- [343] ing this house is a bark tent built in a conical form as a steam house. They excavate a hole in the ground, heat large stones in a fire to a great heat, and then put them in this hole, and cover them over and seat the initiate over them. He is then covered around with blankets so that none of the steam may escape, after which water is poured on the stones and the neophyte is [783] enveloped in a roasting steam bath. This is the first act, and the object is to steam all [776] evil spirits out of him.

He is then led in to the house, after the steaming process in some instances has been repeated once or twice. He is then blindfolded and led around the house. Pres- [534] ently the singers beat the drum, shake the rattles, and commence singing a tune; then commences the dance, which is joined in by all present who wish to do so. The wom- [562] en are members of the medicine lodge as well as the men, and they join in the songs and in the dance. After the dancing is done, or perhaps he may have stood in the midst of it there is a suspension of all sing- [756] ing and dancing. Several medicine men then advance towards the neophyte, pointing their medicine bags at him, then drawing them back. This advancing and receding and ejaculating certain words calculated to work up the mind of the novitiate into a regular phrenzy.

Presently they reach him when they hit their medicine bags against his body, he still being blindfolded and at the same time uttering a shrill exclamation. The Judge [158] said the novitiate jumped up and fell flat on his face as if dead and that apparently with-

[P.60(B)]

● 796 out design. There he lay without motion or
575 sign of life, and the dance was resumed
158 around them. After a time he was brought
out of this mesmeric or clairvoyant state, a
medicine bag was put in his hands and he
at once had power to strike any one down as
he had been. The person who stayed by the
Judge was thus struck down. He felt of his
arm and wrist and found them perfectly rigid.

796 They told the Judge before they admitted
575 him to this ceremony that while he was
789 there he must think no evil thought. If he
did, his life would be in danger from the
spirits. No impure person is admitted to
[841] witness these ceremonies, no woman in the
menstrual period, no woman pregnant or
[843] recently delivered, no intoxicated or intemperate
[273] person that is under the influence of
liquor is allowed to attend. The proceedings
[756] in the sweat lodge were not seen by him as
none but medicine men were allowed there.
796 The ceremonies commenced at 8 in the evening
575 and lasted until day break next morning.
The Judge confirms my former opinion
that this is purely a religious rite, and a religious
organization, having but little to do
with the uses of medicine proper. The roots
and herbs are one thing, but the ceremonies
[755] and incantations which are the real remedies
are quite another. They call it the
Spirit Dance, or the Divine Dance. The
[171] Judge informs me that he has witnessed the
same thing among the Sauks and Foxes.

[*Winnebago Burial*]

764 He also mentioned the fact that he witnessed
the burial of a Winnebago some
years ago. He was set upon a natural mound
and house made over him, food and some
personal articles laid by his side, after which
the whole was covered over with earth, except
[775] a small hole or chimney was kept open
from the top down into the house. When

[P.60(C)]

764 the Judge asked what this meant they told
775 him that it was for the spirit to pass through
in going out and in.

771 He never found among them during the
long period of his intercourse any evidence
of sun worship, and thinks it fell far short
of that in which I agree with him.

115 This morning I had a further conversation
with Judge Walker, who is a regular
medicine man of the Wyandottes. He says
776 the name of the Spirit of Medicine among
171 the Wyandottes is Mon-ane-tow, who is the
same as the Manitou of the Ojibways etc.
That this spirit of Medicine is a good spirit
etc. He says that the initiations described
● 796 by Judge Williams are in the presence only
575 of medicine men and women. The people
of the tribe are not allowed to be present.
That both men and women are members,
and are regularly initiated before they can
become members. That no oath of secrecy
is required, as the Indian knows nothing
about oaths, but they initiate on the honor
of the man and of the woman, choosing such
only as are known to be of good character
for integrity. That the Society and its proceedings
[755] are secret, except these ceremonies
which medicine men perform on patients
for their cure.

796 Walker says that these ceremonies proceed
575 upon the idea that a violent shock of
the nervous system, which prostrates it entirely
828 will also prostrate or relax the hold of
158 the disease. They know by experience that
by fasting and steaming they so arouse and
excite a well person as to produce a shock
which will throw him to the earth. This is
done at the ceremony of initiation which
Judge Williams described. It is done by
nervous excitement, and Indian faith in
these ceremonies, and is repeated over every
initiate as a proof of the possession by
medicine men of this marvellous power. He

[P.61(A)]

796 says there is no sham about this falling down
575 of the person on the floor in a swoon in the
828 manner described. That this is the precise
158 shock of the system to produce which the
fasting and the steaming process is resorted
to, and all the other ceremonies of the initiation,
including the dance.

755 When a person is sick and incurable by
158 the simple remedies known to the Indians,
and the friends become apprehensive for
the life of the person, then the medicine
men are called in and they go through certain
ceremonies, all of which operate upon
the nervous system already enfeebled and
excited by disease, and tend to bring about
that shock or prostration of the nervous
system, which when produced is supposed
also to relax the hold and power of the disease
at the same time. In a word it kills the
disease, or breaks the disease, or destroys
[753] the evil spirit then in the body which causes
the disease, and then if there is constitutional
strength enough left to raise up the
body from its utter prostration, the patient
recovers.

753 It would seem that they regarded the
755 nervous system or the sensitive part of our
828 nature as the seat of the disease, and addressed
their remedies to the sensitive part,
that is to the mind rather than to the body,
to the spirit rather than to the organs of the
[171] body. The medicine system prevails very
generally among our Indian races. In fact
it is universal so far as we have found out
the customs of the remote tribes.

755 I asked Walker about the cheats practiced
756 by the medicine men upon the credulity
of their patients, that is, pretending to
take out of a man's back a tooth or a bone.
He says that in their practice they want to
make money, and the greater the feat they
perform the greater the charge they make.
Sometimes they charge a horse etc.

[P 61 (B)]
[PP. 62 - 209 not processed]

115 97. Joseph Williams, born in Pennsylvania in
1801, served as associate justice in Iowa Territory
and state. In 1857 he was appointed
associate justice of Kansas Territory by
President Buchanan; he served until 1861.
He made his home in Ft. Scott; died in
1870. For an account of some of Williams'
activities in Kansas in the fall of 1859 and
[113] 1860, see *Collections of the Kansas State Historical
Society, 1915–18*, xiv, 205–6, 230;
*Transactions of the Kansas State Historical
Society, 1901–02*, vii, 402.

●796 98. This is probably one of the earliest accounts
575 of the Winnebago Medicine Dance, performed
by a secret society in summer only.
Its purpose is to prolong life and to cultivate
certain nonmartial virtues. The Winnebago
[171] Medicine Dance is closely related to
the Algonquian Midéwiwin, to the Dakota
"Mystery Dance," and to the Omaha "Pebble
Ceremony." See "The Ritual and Significance
[113] of the Winnebago Medicine Dance,"
Journal of American Folk-Lore, xxiv (1911):
149–206, and *The Winnebago Tribe* (Bureau
of American Ethnology, 37th Annual Report,
1923), both by Dr. Paul Radin; see
also "Winnebago," in *Handbook of American
Indians*, edited by Hodge.

[P.210]
[pp. 211-233 not processed]

105 771 tation with its insistence upon warding off evil by force and obtaining good by force, and the 'sky' interpretation, with its emphasis on conciliation and appeasement and its attempts at the resolution of the opposites? The rituals take up the same question.

5. RITUALISM

105 575 571 796 There are two fundamental types of ritualistic organization among the Winnebago, those based on clan membership and those based on blessings from the same spirits. In other words, the bond is either a social one, membership in the same clan, or a spiritual one, a common religious experience. The clan rituals have one major extension, a ceremony where those members of each clan who are the guardians of the warbundle of that particular clan, gather together in a feast for all the main deities. At this ceremony they ask for the renewal of the powers of these warbundles and for the promise of success on the warpath. Set off, apparently, from these two types of ritual there is a third, the Medicine Rite, with but one example, where membership is based upon personal conduct and achievement other than war and where, usually, one can only enter when there is a vacancy caused by death. In those cases where a person became a member through personal achievement he was, in the old days, generally, a man in middle age because of the rigorous and difficult entrance requirements. When taking the place of a deceased member a person could, however, even be under twenty.

An individual is consequently either born with the right of membership in a ceremony, like the clan feasts and the warbundle feasts, or he has to achieve it, as in the ritual societies based on blessings from the same spirits and the Medicine Rite.

The clan feasts which are in honor of the ancestral clan animals need not detain us here. Nor do we have to dwell upon the ritual societies based on common supernatural experiences. For membership in the latter there are really no requirements except willingness to endure the comparatively light hardships of fasting. The spirits or deities rarely, if ever, failed to grant the suppliant a vision. Formerly,

so many Winnebago informed me, the most sacred and important 105
of the ritual societies of this type was the Night-spirit one. It was 575
practically gone when I first visited the tribe in 1909. In none of 796
these rituals was there any control of membership or insistence upon 571
a special code of conduct either before or after admission.

The warbundle ceremonies require a few words. Each performance 105
is divided into two parts, the first presided over by the Thunderbird 721
spirits and the second by the Night-spirits. However, all the 796
great spirits of the Winnebago pantheon have their place in it and, to all, offerings are made. Although in the eyes of the Winnebago, the warbundle ritual is devoted entirely to the glorification of war, it is interesting and significant to see that, besides the great patrons of war, the Thunderbird spirits, Night-spirits, Sun, Morning Star, Evening Star, Disease-giver, Eagle, Black Hawk, specific peace deities like Earthmaker, Earth, Moon and Water are also included and, at times, even the hero-deities, Trickster, Turtle and Hare. From this we can infer that even in a ceremony devoted preeminently to the enhancement of the importance of the warrior and of warfare, deities symbolizing peace and the antithesis of violence and force, could not be entirely left out. Admittedly their inclusion had little effect upon the one and insistent prayer of the participants, war. Even Earthmaker is represented as bestowing success on the warpath, something completely new. Yet the mere fact that Earthmaker was included did act as a reminder that the pursuit of war was not everything.

The warbundle rituals represent the classic and most complete expression of the war spirit, the glorification of the viewpoint of the chief of the lower division of the tribe, namely, that one goes out to combat evil, militantly and with violence. In fact, you must pre-enact the enemy's attack, your method of coping with it, and the manner in which the enemy is to be defeated and overwhelmed.
Even orgies, where all self-control is abandoned, are permitted, something [786]
that was always abhorrent to the normal Winnebago and greatly dreaded. The remark made to me by the Indian who translated the text, relative to such orgies is quite illuminating here. 'It is good to have one Indian work himself into a paroxysm of enthusiasm but it must never be more than one!'

105 796 575 771 But to come now to the Medicine Rite. It is only superficially that its organization is really unique, for both in the snake clan feast and in the Night-spirit ritual society there are four positions just as in the Medicine Rite. The resemblances between the latter two are, in fact, so marked that we can well understand why some Winnebago regarded the Night-spirit society as the model for the Medicine Rite. In a sense it is true that the Medicine Rite could be interpreted as the society of those who have been blessed by Earthmaker. Yet, in spite of these similarities, it was regarded as something *sui generis*. What is, then, the specific character of its organization that gives it this unique position in the Winnebago ritualistic system?

The answer is simple—two traits, the method of admission and the fact that a large part of the tribe belongs to it. While the size of the membership at the beginning of the nineteenth century was unquestionably larger than a hundred years before, still it must always have been very large. Moreover, there were no restrictions as to sex. Compared to any of the other ceremonies, the Medicine Rite thus stood out as a completely democratic organization where, theoretically, the only requirement was membership in the tribe.

This uniqueness in certain fundamental traits of its organization was matched by its purpose and much of its content. Its avowed purpose was, not only, to ensure man a long and happy life on earth but to ensure his return to it after death. Of course all ceremonies were concerned with the first of these two purposes. And the belief in reincarnation had always, as we have pointed out, been well-known and accepted. The uniqueness lay in the method of attaining it. That method had two parts, a magical-symbolical and an ethical-philosophical. Admission to the Rite entailed being shot and 'killed' by a missile and coming to life again. This is the magical-symbolical part. The ethical-philosophical part consisted in strict adherence to a high code of behavior laid down for you and enforced by the older members of the Rite. Only by adherence to it can you surmount death.

Yet admission is only a preliminary to your real task. It only sets your feet, so to speak, in the proper road. You must steel yourself to being shot and 'killed' innumerable times and you must obtain

mastery over death by shooting and 'killing' others innumerable 105
times, so that death, when it finally comes, will be as familiar to you 575
as life. Then, when full of years, you actually die, the passage from 796
life to death will become a mere incident and, being born again will, 771
for yourself, constitute no break with your former existence.

It is quite clear that we are dealing here with the vision of a poet-philosopher and this will become more evident when we recognize the original nature and meaning of the shooting ritual. Shooting missiles into a person was an old and well-recognized shamanistic device. The missiles were generally animal claws and they were meant to kill. Your only protection was to provide yourself with magical counter measures or, to obtain some specific blessing from a spirit. That you could convert what was meant to be a death-dealing missile into a life-giving one by leading a virtuous life was something new when applied, for instance, on the grand scale to be seen in the reinterpretation of the myth of the *Journey to Spiritland* as found in the Medicine Rite (cf. pages 257 ff.). To express it, required a particular language, with new extensions of meaning for words and in which metaphor, symbolism and mysticism ruled supreme, in short, the language of a poet and a philosopher. Myths were reinterpreted in an entirely new fashion and put to entirely new uses. To understand and comprehend it a special and difficult kind of education and training was needed.

Yet, in spite of its esoteric character, one thing was never forgotten, that the ceremony was to serve concrete purposes. It was not the vision of a Road of Perfection to be rewarded by eternal peace and happiness in heaven but, on the contrary, the vision of a Road of Perfection which was to be rewarded by a return to earth and to the vicissitudes of living. It was life that was to be faced, with all its imperfections, trials, and with all the comedies and tragedies that often played such havoc with ideals of perfection.

Indeed the imperfections of life intruded themselves into the poet-philosopher's vision, despite his attempts to exclude them. It was impossible, for instance, for individuals to forget that they were not only members of the Medicine Rite but, likewise, warriors and often shaman. Thunder, as the idealists might well do against the presence

105 575 771 796 of shamanistic practices in the Rite, they could never quite exclude them and the only answer they possessed was to condemn them and show how they led to dishonor, death and destruction.

This interweaving of the concrete and the symbolic and mystical led to a double, at times even a triple, set of significances for every action and word and which, occasionally, reached incredible heights of complication, intricacy and subtlety.

105 174 796 Since no other ceremony resembles the Medicine Rite in the respects just mentioned, we may well stop and ask ourselves what could have led to its creation? What is the cultural meaning of this new mode of expression, this new type of reinterpretation of ancient beliefs and attitudes? Allowing for the natural creative impulses of our Winnebago poet-philosophers, it is not unreasonable to suspect that some particular circumstance or circumstances must have called them forth.

Ordinarily, any attempt to determine such a matter among the American Indians, in the absence of an authentic historic record, would mean mere speculation. Fortunately this does not hold true for the case in point. There are indications within the text of the Rite itself and some historical evidence which proves pretty conclusively that, in its present form, the Medicine Rite is a development late in Winnebago history and after the coming of the French in 1632. We can, in fact, date it more precisely. The otterskin pouch and the shell used in the shooting ceremony come from the *midewiwin* ceremony of the Ojibwa. The Winnebago obtained them from the Fox and this could not possibly have been before 1680-1690.

Now, the Winnebago between 1650-1900 were passing through a very serious crisis. Their numbers had been seriously decimated by ferocious struggles between them and the Illinois and Fox and by the diseases introduced by the Europeans. The influence of the French, as well as the new conditions resulting from French encroachment, were playing havoc with the old order of things. Nor must we underrate the influence of the French missionaries.

[182] That a new type of ceremony should have appeared among the Winnebago just then cannot be ascribed to mere chance. It must bear some relation to the crisis. The moment we put the two to-

gether much that would otherwise remain inexplicable about the Medicine Rite becomes clear—its nostalgia for the past, the idealistic and idyllic setting, the absence of any reference to war, the insistent condemnation of shamanistic practices. We can then see it for what it is, the attempt of the priest-poet-philosopher to meet the new and hitherto unknown threats to the old way of life by demonstrating, first, what merit and virtue inhered in the Winnebago civilization of the past and, secondly, by showing how it could be recovered and safeguarded against all outside attacks. The creators of this ritual-drama were concerned only with the description of the Road of Perfection, a road that was to lead the Winnebago back to the past and then forward again. Only if we fully realize that we are not dealing here simply with the inward vision of some poet-philosopher but with the spiritual crisis of a people will we be able to explain the burning intensity that animates the participants.

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But, let us forget for the moment the fact that the Medicine Rite is of late appearance in Winnebago history and let us forget the crisis that gave it birth and try to assign it its proper place in Winnebago thought.

We saw before how the warrior ideal received its glorification in the warbundle ceremonies. Nothing comparable to such a eulogy of war and of the warrior's viewpoint existed for the other half of Winnebago life, for the arts of peace. Indications that it was attempted are innumerable but these attempts seem never to have succeeded to any marked degree.

And so the Winnebago, apparently, had to wait until late in their history, until a crisis of major proportions was threatening to disrupt their whole culture, before the ideal which had always been expressed in the symbol of the chief of the tribe could find its full and adequate expression in the present Medicine Rite. That this expression came so late in their history must not obscure the fact that it represents part of a very old struggle between two aspects of Winnebago life that had always been seeking a resolution. It is not only in Winnebago history that a philosophical-ethical ideal has received its highest expression in the midst of a social-economic crisis, as I need hardly point out.

105 174 182 796 Whether, before the coming of the Whites, other crises of equal intensity had ever threatened the security of Winnebago life we do not, of course, know. What we do know, however, is that before Winnebago civilization finally broke up and disintegrated completely, about twenty years ago, a religion of a new type essayed the same task that the Medicine Rite had undertaken and developed a ritual of considerable beauty with a quality all its own. I am, of course, referring to the Peyote Cult.

6. THE HISTORY OF THE MEDICINE RITE

105 796 174 The Medicine Rite is clearly the product of a long development. For proof of this we have not only direct historical evidence but fairly convincing internal evidence. I have already called attention to the fact that the otterskin pouch, the shell and, in fact, much of the whole present shooting ritual stems originally from the *midewiwin* ceremony of the Ojibwa. We know that they are the originators of it and that it spread from them to the Pottawattomie, Menominee and Fox and then to the eastern Dakota and Iowa. The eastern Dakota already had it in 1765. The Winnebago were brought into contact with it by the Fox and the Iowa. We must assume that this could not possibly have been earlier than 1690 and, far more likely, it was later, anywhere between 1710 and 1730. To judge from its present form and content, nothing else was borrowed than the shooting ritual and its appurtenances, apart from a number of songs, at least, from the linguistically and culturally distinct Fox. More was probably borrowed from the linguistically and culturally closely related Iowa.

Two introductory narratives (pages 92 f. and 94 f.)^ profess to tell how some of the pouches were obtained but they can hardly be accepted as too accurate. In so far as any credence can be placed on what they say, it would appear that they were presented to two Winnebago, whose names are given. No mention, however, is made by the givers of these gifts, one an Iowa and the other a Fox Indian, of their be-

^[not processed -Analyst]

longing to the *midewiwin*. Nor do the two Winnebago say anything 105
about their having been incorporated into a ceremony of their own. 796
Yet some connection there must once have been between these 174
gifts and the beginnings of our Medicine Rite, for otherwise there would have been no conceivable reason for their inclusion.

Since everything else in the Medicine Rite of today, apart from the shooting ritual, is so completely different from the Ojibwa and Menominee *midewiwin*, the only two we know reasonably well, we must assume either that a new ceremony was created then and there with the shooting ritual as its nucleus or that the shooting ritual was incorporated into an older Winnebago ceremony. All the evidence at our disposal points to the latter alternative. We have also to assume that this older ceremony contained shamanistic practices of the type that were characteristic of the Night-spirits' Rite.

That it was not the Night-spirits' Rite itself upon which the 105
Ojibwa shooting ritual was grafted, of that there can be little doubt. 171
Fortunately, we have a clue from a very unexpected source, the 174
Pawnee. These Indians have a ceremony called *The Ceremony of* 796
the Medicine Men, where we find the following remarkable resemblances to the Medicine Rite: a shooting ritual which causes the individuals shot to fall prostrate to the ground as if dead and then rise again; the conception that the framework of the lodge consists of snakes; a figure called the sacred woman; the importance of Turtle; a membership possessing occult powers strictly guarded and kept secret from the outside world; a highly elaborate symbolism, etc. Chance must be ruled out here. The only thing we have to decide is how the Winnebago happen to possess a ceremony so similar to that of the distant Pawnee with whom they had practically no contact. Direct borrowing is out of the question.

To me there seems to be only one possible explanation, namely, that the Winnebago and the Pawnee, the Winnebago to a smaller extent, were members of that larger civilization which we mentioned before and which had its roots in Mexico, and of which the Pawnee have preserved the essential traits whereas the Winnebago have preserved only vague memories of it and some special survivals.

Assuming then that the older ceremony upon which the Ojibwa

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shooting ritual, plus its appurtenances, the otterskin pouch and the shell, were grafted, was in content very much like the present *Pawnee Ceremony of the Medicine Men* and, organizationally, like the Night-spirits Society; let us see now what changes were necessary to have this older ceremony approximate to the present Medicine Rite.

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First, of course, the meaning of the missile shot into the individual being initiated and into the members of the Rite had to be reinterpreted and its overt shamanistic implications removed. The stimulus for that unquestionably came from the Ojibwa shooting ritual. The linkage of the shooting ritual with the doctrine of reincarnation is, however, something entirely new.

The second transformation came about when the Tear-Pouring ritual was grafted upon this older rite. This last named ritual, apparently, was part of the very elaborate ceremonies connected with the dead although, today, it is not found in the official Four Nights' Wake. What is, however, found there is the myth of the *Journey to Spiritland* which has been taken over *in toto* into the Medicine Rite and subjected to a complete and fundamental reinterpretation. I feel that it is the linkage of these elements from the funeral rites with the older form of the Medicine Rite that brought about its basic transformation and gave us the Rite of today, with its stress on reincarnation and on the doctrine of the Road.

The third new trait requiring an explanation is the role of Earthmaker. He is a very old Winnebago deity and was evidently regarded as the supreme deity before the coming of the Europeans. He seems, in fact, to be the counterpart of the well-known Pawnee supreme deity *Tirawa*. Nevertheless, the influence of Christianity in, at least, unifying his characteristics and functions and accentuating his supremacy over the other deities, as well as the theory that he is the creator of all things, must not be excluded. The association of the two crossed lines with him cannot be accidental, even although the symbol itself is very old and is more specifically connected with the cardinal points.

There is, besides, some semihistorical evidence for indirect Christian influence. In a narrative purporting to be an account of the origin of a well-known French half-breed family among the Winne-

bago, named Decora, a statement is made that the son of the French 105
founder of the family by the daughter of the tribal chief, introduced 174
the figure of Earthmaker into the Medicine Rite. Such an individual 796
would, indeed, have been the ideal person to have done just this. According to the narrative, he was taken, while still a very young child, to France and brought up there for a number of years. He was still only a boy when his excessive homesickness forced his father to send him back to Wisconsin and there he was rigorously subjected to the old Winnebago education for youths.

Thus he was almost made to order to symbolize the meeting of the two civilizations and to become one of individuals best qualified to understand the nature of the crisis threatening his people and the need for a new religious and philosophical synthesis to surmount it, at least, spiritually . . .

It is in some such fashion that we must visualize the growth and development of the Medicine Rite. Only if we bear in mind the various strands that have gone into its making and only, when we realize that in its final integrated form, it is a work of art sprung out of the poignant needs of a people facing a soul-trying ordeal, only then, can it be properly understood, evaluated and appreciated.

[pp. 78 ff. not processed]

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12 ●

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

Element	Occurrence																
	UT	K-A	Kio	Com	Kio	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
1. Staff of authority of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
2. "Cane" 3-5 feet long	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
3. Tufts of hair at top	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+		•−	+	+	•+	+	+	−	−	+
4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane	+	+	+	+	−	•+	−	+	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
5. Passed around	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
6. Always passed between drum and altar	+	(+)	+		(−)	+					(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	
7. Person holding staff leads singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8. Rattle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9. Gourd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
10. Decorated	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11. Handle beaded	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12. Tufts of hair on top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+
13. Rattle passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14. Person singing shakes rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15. Individual rattle also used	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
16. Only after midnight	+		+	+	−	−	+	•−	−	−	+	+	•−	+	−	+	+
17. To accompany singer holding staff			+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
19. Each feather tied separately	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		+	
20. Binding decorated		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		+	
21. Passed around	+		−	+	(−)	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
22. Held with staff while singing	+		•+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
23. Individual fans also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24. Only after midnight	+		+	−	(+)	−	+	•−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+
27. Used at special midnight ritual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
28. At special morning ritual	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		−	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+
29. Placed near altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
30. Only leader uses whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

(Continued on next page)

C
D
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171
795
796 ●
[534]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12

C
W
171
795
796
[534]
[276]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Continued)

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
36. Pottery jar	•+		–	–		–	+	+		–	–	–		+		–	
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	(+)	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	•+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
41. 7 stones represent days			+	–		–	–	–		–	+	+	+	+	+	–	
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
43. Star significant	+	+	+			•(+)					•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		•–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
55. Usually by cedarman	+	•–	+	+	+	•–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	±	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	•–	–	+
59. In oak leaves	+	–	+	±	–	•(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
60. In paper	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ10
Winnebago NQ12

Element	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	De 1	De 3	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 3	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
	Occurrence																
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	(+)	+	+
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual	•(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	
63. Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
•65. Decorated with white lines	−	−	−		(−)		−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
69. Form cross	+	•+	(+)	+		+	+			+	+	•+	•+	+		−	
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		•+	+		(+)	•−	+	•+	−		+	•−	•−	+	•(+)	•−	
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	•+	+	(+)	•+	•+	•+		+	+	•+	•+	+	•	+	+
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
77. 2 assistants		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
78. 3 assistants	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
79. 4 or more assistants		−	•−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
83. Drums for each singer in turn	−	−	−	−	−	−		•+	•−	−	•+	•−	•−	•+	−	•−	•−
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	−	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Sits at leader's left	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	•−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	−	+	−	(−)	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	

(Continued on next page)

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[276]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche NO6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12

Co
Cr
D
W
171
795
796
[783]
[778]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Continued)

Element	Occurrence																
	11 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab 8	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Tao
91. Replenishes fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
92. Cleans up and arranges ashes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Conducts people in and out	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	•+	•+	+	+	−	+	+
94. All bathe before attending meeting	+	+	•+	−		(−)		•−		•−	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	
95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
96. In open			•−	−	−	(−)	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+
97. Entrance or opening toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
99. Concave side toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
100. Line on top of moon	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
101. Fire east of leader's place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
102. East of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
103. Sticks placed to form right angle	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+		−	−	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+
104. Old methods used to start fire		−	•+	−		+	+	+		−	•−	•−	−	+	+	−	
105. 4 sticks on fire			(+)	•−	(−)	+	•−	•−	−	•−	+	•+	−	+	+	+	•−
106. Special fire stick (poker)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	
107. Worshippers congregate outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	−	•−	•−	−	+	−	+	•−
109. Meeting starts in evening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+
110. Leader prays before entering meeting	+	+	•+	+		•(−)		−		+	+	+	+	+		+	+
111. Order of entrance: chief first	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
112. Chief drummer second		+	+	+		+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
113. Cedarman third		−	+	+		−	+	−		+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
114. Men (before women and children)		−	+	+	+	(+)		−		+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	
115. Women and children allowed	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
116. Fire chief last	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
118. Men, either side, near leader	+	−	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
119. Women, either side, near entrance		−	•+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
120. Separation of men and women		−	−	+	(−)	−	•+	•+	+	+	+	•−	•+	+	−	−	

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche ND6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12 ●

Element	U.T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kie	Ab 3	De 1	De 2	Win	Na C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Uin	Osa	W-P	Taos
	Occurrence																
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	
122. Women sit behind men		−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	
123. All pass to south of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	R	+	+	+	+
126. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−	
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		−	
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
137. Chewed	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	(+)	−			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	•+	+	+	−	•−	+	+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	•+	•+	+	+	−				−	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+		•+	+	(−)	−				−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+		−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	−	(+)	•+	+	−		−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
149. 4 times	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	•−	+	+	+	
150. Worshippers incensed	+	•+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

(Continued on next page)

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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ10

Winnebago NP12

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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	U.T	K-A	Kio	Com	Ka	Ar 2	De 1	De 2	Wa	NoC	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ba	Go	W-P	Tot
151. 4 times	+		+	–		+				–	•–	+	•–	+		+	
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+			+	+	+		–	+	+	•+	+	•+	–	
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+		•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
161. Rule against women singing	+	•–	+	+		(+)	+	+	–	+	+	•–	+	–	•+	•–	
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+	+		•+	•–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
167. 4 sticks added							–				(+)	(+)	–	+		+	
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+		–	+
171. 4 times	+		+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	•+	+		–	+
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+			+	+	•–			+	+	+	+	+	–	+
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
174. By women		–	–	•+	•–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+	+		–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+	+		–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ10

Winnebago NP12 ●

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Element	Occurrence																
	UT	KA	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
182. Basket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	•(+)	−	+	+	+	+
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	•	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		•−	•+		+	+	+	+			•(+)	+	−	+	•(+)	+	+
195. Urged not to eat too much			•+	−		−	−	−		−	(+)	+	−	•+	−	−	
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
197. By women			•+	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(−)	−		•+	−	−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	•−	+	−	+	+		−	
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			•+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+

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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06
Winnebago NP12

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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Concluded)

Element	Occurrence																
	12 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kio	Ah S	De 1	De 2	Win	Ne C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Tam
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+		–	–		+	+	+	+	+	–	+
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	•+	+	–	+	+	+	+
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	–	•+
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	+
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	+	+	–	+
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	–	+	–	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	•–	–	•+	–	–	–	+
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	
222. Wash before eating			–	–	–	–		•+		–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•–
224. Before eating	+		+	–		+		•+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	•–	+	+	–	+	+	+	
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	•+	+		+	
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	–	+	•+			•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+		–	
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+		–	
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+			+						+	+	+	+	–	
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door			?	+		+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
233a. Order before passing reversed				+		+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	•+	+		+			–	+	+	+	+	+		+	
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+		•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
236. Sun greeted	+		•–	–	(–)	–		•+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	•+	–	–	(–)	+	+		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		•–	•+	+	–	+				+	•–	–	–	–	–	–	

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06

Winnebago NP12

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Element	Occurrence																
	12 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Ks	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Taos
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+				+	+	•+	+	
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+	+
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+		+	
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+					−	+		•−	+
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	−		−	+	+		+			+	+		+	+
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−			+	+	•	+	
265a. (See note)															•		

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NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

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1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celluloid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye, undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound toegether is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

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27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).

28. Gos: See note 265a.

30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin).

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32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).

33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget).

35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).

36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).

37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).

38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).

40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).

43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).

44. Gos: See note 265a.

46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).

48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).

50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).

51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).

52. AbS: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).

53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).

55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).

W

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56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).

57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).

58. Gos: See note 265a.

59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).

60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).

61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).

62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.

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63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔgʷeθi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

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64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not redecorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

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Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf). C W

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre).

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99. 171 795

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf). 796 ● W [778]

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 50, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons). C [291]

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget). C [562]

115. Kic: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kic: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon). C [352]

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

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125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegel[illegible] Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

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165. De 1; Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes C
piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, W
181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a 171
heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross
(by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus). 795

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget). 796 ●

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin). W

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93). [532]

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kic: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin). C

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf). [276]

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget). [782]

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kic: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kic: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

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Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

Win:

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223–225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251–265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154–58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: damë apë (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form nï'më apë (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Crow NQ10

Winnebago NP12

R

C

W

171

795

796

600

264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre).

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kic: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Gos: Simply called the path of life (Malouf).

265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940.

PROGRAM: NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting-it of 5-finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.